

# BASIC PRINCIPLES - An Editorial

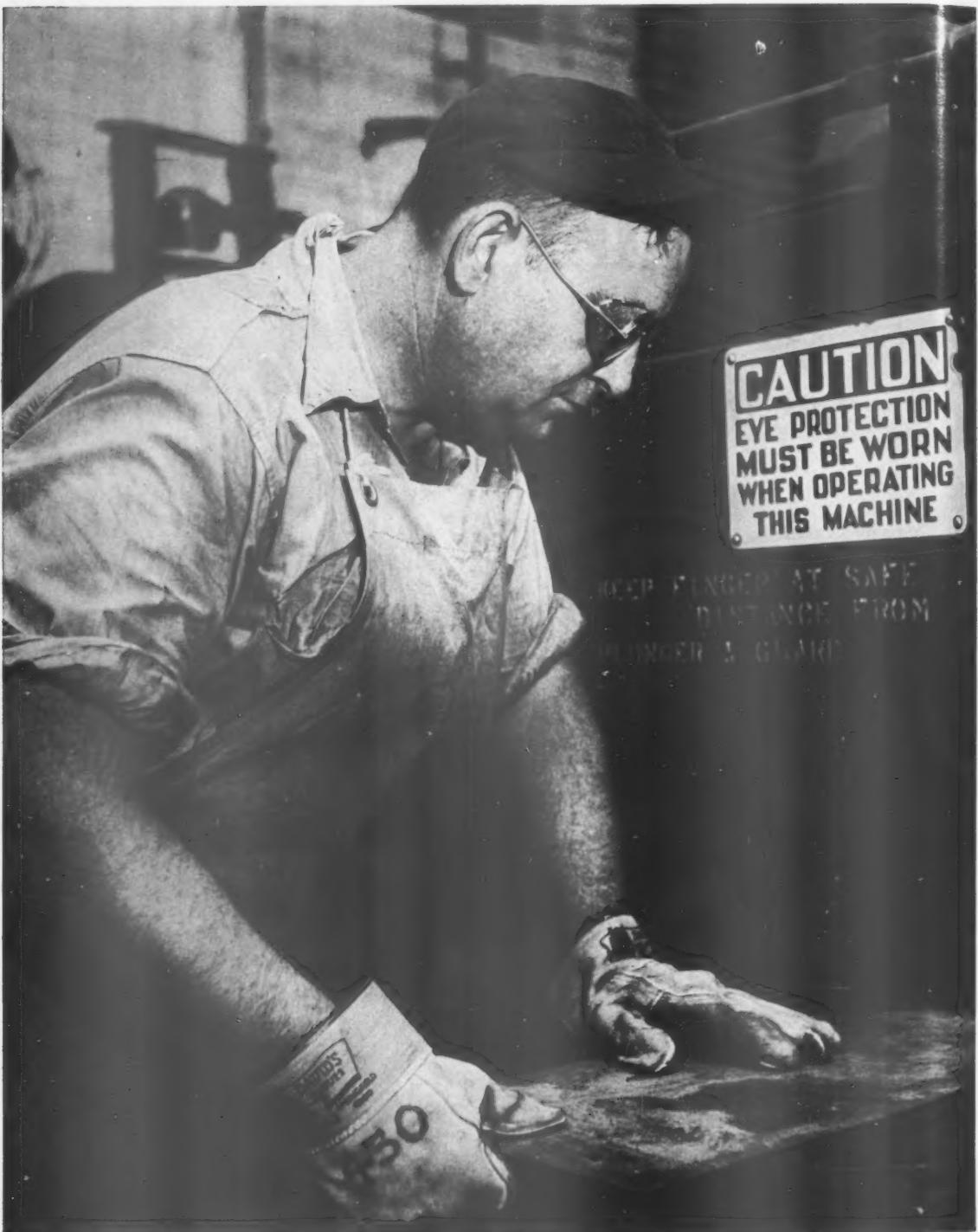
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## FEDERATIONIST

WORKERS' PROGRESS BENEFITS THE ENTIRE FAMILY





*for your sake . . .*

*for your family's sake . . .*

**WORK WITH CARE**

*American*

# FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

JUNE, 1957

GEORGE MEANY, *Editor*

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17 Cents

## *About Education*

The problem of education is twofold: first to know and then to utter. Everyone who lives any semblance of an inner life thinks more nobly and profoundly than he speaks, and the best of teachers can impart only broken images of the truth which they perceive.

No man was ever so poor that he could express all he has in him by words, looks or actions. His true knowledge is eternally incommunicable, for it is a knowledge of himself, and his best wisdom comes to him by no process of the mind but in a supreme self-dictation, which keeps varying from hour to hour in its dictates with the variation of events and circumstances.

Although truth is difficult to state, it is both easy and agreeable to receive, and the mind runs out to meet it ere the phrase be done. The universe, in relation to what any man can say of it, is plain, patent and staringly comprehensible. In itself, it is a great and travailing ocean, unsounded, unvoyageable, an eternal mystery to man; or, let us say, it is a monstrous and impassable mountain, one side of which and a few near slopes and foothills we can dimly study with these mortal eyes.

The longest and most abstruse flight of a philosopher becomes clear and shallow, in the flash of a moment, when we suddenly perceive the aspect and drift of his intention. The longest argument is but a finger pointed once we get our own finger rightly parallel, and we see what the man meant, whether it be a new star or an old street lamp.

We are all agreed about the middling and indifferent parts of knowledge and morality. Even the most soaring spirits too often take them tamely upon trust. But the man, the philosopher or the moralist does not stand upon these chance adhesions, and the purpose of any system looks toward those extreme points where it steps valiantly beyond tradition and returns with some covert hint of things outside.

It is only by some bold poetry of thought that men can be strung up above the level of everyday conceptions to take a broader look upon experience or accept some higher principle of conduct. *Robert Louis Stevenson.*

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# BASIC PRINCIPLES

IT IS WELL for us to recall and to reiterate our dedication to the basic concepts of the free trade union movement in these days when the enemies of labor are having a field day in smearing the good name of our movement because of the transgressions of a few officials.

It is not my purpose to minimize the importance of eradicating the taint of corruption from the labor movement. On the contrary, I feel very strongly that racketeering and trade unionism cannot mix. There is no room in our movement for traitors who abuse their positions of trust for self-enrichment. The honesty and integrity of our cause demand that it be carried on by leaders who are men of true honesty and integrity.

For that reason the AFL-CIO is giving full co-operation to the current Senate investigation and, beyond that, we are taking steps on our own responsibility to clean house of individuals and organizations proven faithless to the ideals and the laws of our trade union movement.

There is no justification for fear that the labor movement will be seriously weakened by the exposure or the punishment of a few transgressors. In the long run our cause will be strengthened by getting rid of these enemies from within.

Nor, in my judgment, will labor suffer any real loss in public esteem. The trade union movement has been able to grow to its present high estate because public opinion has supported it. The people of this country realize that the labor movement has been a force for good in the life of our country. We intend to keep it that way. And as long as we do, we are going to enjoy favorable public opinion.

Let us examine the effect of the trade union movement on the American way of life.

Our organization functions primarily in the economic field. Its first purpose is to obtain higher wages and better working conditions for the workers of this country.

Largely through the result of our efforts, the working standards and the living standards of the

American people today are the highest in the world. By raising purchasing power we have opened tremendous new markets for American industry and agriculture. It is obvious that because of the great contributions made by labor to the national economy, any real damage to the trade union movement today would hurt the entire nation.

Man does not live by bread alone, nor has labor restricted its activities to the economic sphere. Years ago the trade union movement realized that in our complex society a truly democratic government must assume certain responsibilities for economic, social and political justice.

Thus, labor pioneered in the field of social legislation. We led in the fight to bring about universal free education in public schools. We carried on a bitter but successful campaign to outlaw child labor against entrenched opposition from employers who could see nothing morally wrong in putting young children to work under sweatshop conditions. We saw to it that the eight-hour day was established by law.

From time immemorial, employers took less heed of their workers than their machinery. If a machine broke down the employer would see to it that it was properly repaired. But if a worker was injured on the job, that was his hard luck. Labor obtained the enactment of workmen's compensation laws in every state that made it the responsibility of the employer to provide insurance for injured workers.

Only a few decades ago the great tragedy of old age for millions of our people was the poor-house. Labor helped to bring about enactment of social security laws which virtually eliminated that blight on civilization. The widespread suffering that resulted from mass unemployment after the 1929 crash helped us to obtain support for the enactment of an unemployment insurance program.

In these and other legislative activities, labor was never motivated solely by selfish considera-

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tions. What we accomplished helped not only union members but all the American people. As an illustration, the enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Act, establishing minimum wages and maximum hours, was of little direct benefit to union members, who already had won higher standards through collective bargaining, but it proved a great boon to unorganized workers.

These are but a few examples of the constructive accomplishments in labor's past record. Let us now take a look at some of our present goals. In the false name of economy, reactionaries in Congress are currently trying to block enactment of an adequate program of federal aid to education. This is labor's first legislative objective. We maintain that every American child is entitled to a decent education in a safe classroom and with competent teachers.

The United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and other employer organizations are fighting against such a program. They have always opposed reforms of benefit to the people. But I predict that our struggle to win decent and adequate schooling for the nation's children will be won—because we will never give up fighting until it is won.

The same is true of civil rights legislation. Here again the opposition is formidable. But we are confident that the sense of justice and fair play runs strong in the American people and that, if we keep on plugging, we will eventually obtain the enactment of laws to eliminate racial and religious discrimination.

Why does labor expend its energy and resources in all these struggles? It is because we believe in the principles of freedom and democracy and because we are convinced that democracy means economic social and political justice for all.

In the furtherance of these basic beliefs, the American labor movement has also taken an active part in international affairs. Our conscience would not let us remain silent in the face of the mass injustice perpetrated upon great masses of people by Mussolini and Hitler. We were the first to protest and act against their hateful dictatorship and to rescue victims of their oppression. And we have been the first and foremost in exposing and acting against the equally brutal Communist dictatorship of Soviet Russia.

Today, due to our efforts, free labor throughout

the world is organized in the fight against the slave labor philosophy of Moscow, and the Communist technique of subversion has thus been dealt a mortal blow.

There, in capsule form, is the record. We of labor are justifiably proud of it, proud of the fact that we have had the courage and foresight to fight for the right, proud of the fact that we have been able over the years to accomplish some good for the people of our own country and the people of other lands.

We intend to carry on, in the same militant tradition, the fight for human justice. We will not be deterred from our goals nor detoured from our high ideals. Neither base detractors who attack us from without nor base betrayers who undermine us from within can stop the march of labor.

Because our cause is good, we thrive on opposition and we will triumph over human error.

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## TIME FOR ACTION

ONCE AGAIN the perennial questions face us: Will a small minority of Congress again be able to prevent the enactment of civil rights legislation? Will the normal processes of Congress again be inadequate to overcome Southern chairmanships and filibuster threats?

Let us hope that 1957 will be different. The great majority of our people want to extend cherished American freedoms to all citizens of our country. Both political parties say they want to. The President says he wants to. Is it too much to hope that this desire will be backed up by determination and action?

The anti-civil rights forces this year have shown new imagination and skill in their injection of two phony issues. Their crocodile tears for the right to trial by jury is fooling nobody. It is just their scheme to guarantee that civil rights laws could be ignored with impunity. And their injection of the fake "right to work" issue is a transparent move to divide the civil rights forces. "Right to work" laws have nothing to do with civil rights; they are designed only to cripple the labor movement.

Let's get on with the job. Civil rights legislation is a must for the Eighty-fifth Congress.

# We Aren't Building Enough Homes

By HARRY C. BATES

*Chairman, AFL-CIO Housing Committee*

**A**MERICA faces a housing crisis. Fewer homes are being built today than at any time in the past eight years. Even worse, there is absolutely no sign on the horizon of an upturn in home building later in the year.

As president of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union, I am particularly aware of how serious the depression in the housing industry is for hundreds of thousands of building tradesmen. For many construction workers it has meant more time lost from work and more belt-tightening for themselves and their families than at any time since before World War II.

Building tradesmen are by no means the only group affected by the crisis in housing. Because housing plays such a large role in the nation's economy, the jobs of workers in a host of industries—building materials, furniture and appliances are only a few that come readily to mind—depend on a high rate of housing activity. A bad housing year inevitably results in cutbacks in production and employment in these industries.

Lost jobs are only one part of the story. The other part is lost homes. Housing experts agree that at least 2,000,000 homes should be built each year to meet the nation's minimum housing requirements.

It now seems virtually certain that this year less than 1,000,000 homes, probably 900,000 or fewer, will be built. This would be the first year

since 1948 that housing starts have dipped below the 1,000,000 mark.

This means that in this one year more than 1,000,000 families—at least 3,500,000 to 4,000,000 men, women and children—will be deprived of the homes they need. It also means that as a nation our housing supply will be falling behind instead of catching up in the race with

ever-growing housing requirements.

One reason for the drastic decline in housing construction is the drying up of funds available for investment in residential mortgages. This is the direct result of the Administration's tight-money policy.

The lack of funds for residential mortgages has meant that even a prospective home buyer who could afford

**Housing for our families is falling behind in the race with ever-rising requirements. Prices are high, loans hard to get.**



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to pay the high prices being asked for houses offered for sale has often been unable to obtain the mortgage loan he must have in order to purchase a home. Mortgage credit has been especially tight for the relatively moderate-priced homes built with government guarantees under the FHA and VA (GI) programs. In fact, these programs have borne the brunt of the housing cutback.

WHILE major attention has been focused on the disastrous effect of the tight-money policy on housing, the sickness in the housing industry today can be traced to an even more fundamental factor. This is the growing gap between family incomes and the charges that families must pay for their housing.

This disparity between financial charges for housing and the level of family incomes has been highlighted in an excellent staff report issued earlier this year by the Senate Subcommittee on Housing. The major conclusion of this report is that "the housing industry [has reached] a point where it is serving primarily the upper-income groups."

A larger supply of mortgage funds is vitally needed, but it will not meet the basic continuing problem which must be solved. This is the general unavailability of homes within the means of the low- and middle-income families which have the most urgent need for adequate housing.

Unless the housing construction rate is stepped up to the annual level of 2,400,000 units needed to meet the nation's minimum requirements, housing conditions will continue to grow worse. But this necessary pace of housing construction will not be achieved until home building activity is fundamentally redirected to make available a far larger number of homes within the means of low- and middle-income families.

In the face of the worst housing situation in the past decade, the Administration has offered only slogans and feigned optimism. For a time after the housing recession had begun, Housing Administrator Albert Cole seemed to think that he could lick the housing depression with Hoover-type cheery statements.

Like President Hoover, who kept seeing prosperity around the corner, Cole kept predicting a housing upturn every year, regardless of the facts.

Cole stuck to his prediction of a good housing year in 1956—he hoped for at least the 1955 level of 1,300,000 units—long after it had become crystal clear to everyone else that housing starts would fall off considerably. The actual level in 1956 was 1,100,000 units, a whopping 16 per cent below the figure for 1955.

At the beginning of this year Cole went out on another long limb and blithely predicted that the 1956 level of 1,100,000 housing starts would be repeated in 1957. By late March, faced with the worst housing quarter in eight years and the unmistakable prospect of housing starts for the year



Measures that offer hope are sponsored by Senator Clark.

below 1,000,000, Administrator Cole was finally forced to revise his prediction downward.

The reason for his changed forecast, he says, is that Congress failed to accept his recommendation to raise the interest rate for GI home mortgages from the present 4 1/2 per cent to 5 per cent.

Yet when the Administration last year did raise the FHA interest rate from an effective 5 to 5 1/2 per cent, there was no pickup in housing starts under the FHA program. By March of this year applications for new FHA homes were one-third below what they had been a year earlier.

The Administration has not offered a single constructive proposal for

meeting the housing crisis. As I have indicated, the two key problems which must be solved are the lack of residential mortgage funds and the disparity between family incomes and the charges which families must pay for housing. The Administration's proposals for legislation ignore both of these problems.

In fact, the Administration's bill even cuts back the so-called "urban renewal" program. This is perhaps the most shocking feature of the Administration's proposals, because the Administration has paraded the urban renewal program as the showpiece of its entire housing program. The slash in funds for urban renewal would eliminate particularly the comprehensive slum clearance and urban redevelopment projects which would make the most effective contribution to needed city rebuilding.

A somewhat better bill has been reported to the House of Representatives by the House Banking and Currency Committee. This bill (H.R. 6659) was largely developed by the Housing Subcommittee under the leadership of its chairman, Representative Albert Rains of Alabama, and was introduced by Representative Brent Spence of Kentucky, chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee.

Unlike the Administration bill, the Spence bill would at least pump some new money into the residential mortgage market. The bill authorizes \$1 billion from the National Service Life Insurance fund for a new veterans' preference program under the FHA. It also authorizes \$1 1/4 billion for the Federal National Mortgage Association—\$1 billion for purchase of FHA and VA mortgages and \$250 million for special types of housing, including cooperative, military, urban renewal and disaster housing. The bill under consideration in the House also provides \$250 million for the next fiscal year for urban renewal.

Another bill (S. 1633), introduced in the Senate by Senator John Sparkman of Alabama, chairman of the Senate Housing Subcommittee, makes a distinct contribution by focusing attention on some of the most urgent areas of housing need. It would attempt to provide housing especially for families displaced by urban renewal programs, moderate-income families, families barred by racial discrimination from the opportunity to obtain de- (Continued on Page 29)

# STATE LABOR UNITY MAKES SENSE

By JOHN I. ROLLINGS  
*President, Missouri State Labor Council, AFL-CIO*

**S**ixty-six years ago twenty-four Missouri trade unionists met at Kansas City to form a statewide organization of labor. At this gathering, on May 4, 1891, a document was developed which began with these words:

"Recognizing the fact that the very instinct of self-preservation demands a closer union of all trade and labor organizations in order that equality of right and privilege may be obtained for wage workers—"

The thought recorded by those pioneers of labor has lived on through the years. It is recognized that "a closer union of all trade and labor organizations" is needed today as much as—and perhaps more than—at the time our predecessors formed the first statewide Missouri labor organization.

Some fifty years after the Kansas City meeting of 1891, another group of trade unionists met and formed a similar organization. Its constitution said:

"The objects of the Council shall be through united action to protect, maintain and advance the interests of all working people in its territory \* \* \*."

One readily sees the similarity of purpose in the basic documents of these two statewide labor organizations. The intent of both was to serve the workers of Missouri and to protect and preserve the unions in the state.

While these two organizations endured for many years in a parallel operation, there was little difference in the goals they sought, although the methods sometimes differed greatly. Government officials, the Legislature and civic bodies, over the years, tried to play one organization against the other. At times attitudes and sentiments within one organization were arrayed against the other group.

There were occasions when the two organizations found themselves supporting different candidates for Gov-



JOHN I. ROLLINGS

ernor, for the United States Senate and House of Representatives and for the State Legislature. Differences arose over the content of certain bills, even on basic legislation affecting workers in a most vital way.

On the other hand, there were many times when joint efforts were put forth on projects of interest to all of the labor movement.

In 1954 the Missouri State Chamber of Commerce attempted to build public sentiment for a so-called "right to work" law. The Chamber embarked on a gigantic advertising program in the daily press to "sell" the people of Missouri on this nefarious kind of legislation. The anti-labor campaign broke with the primary elections, continued through the general elections of 1954 and was carried into the Legislature in 1955.

If a "right to work" law were passed, all labor would suffer injury. The two statewide labor bodies and the railroad brotherhoods quickly united against the menace. A coordinated program in defense of the labor movement was developed.

The common enemy taught everyone the value of a unified program, a unified effort not only in the labor movement but also with friendly sources outside the labor movement, such as church and farm groups. All of this joint effort resulted in a resounding defeat of the anti-labor forces led by the Chamber of Commerce. On that occasion we learned an important lesson on the great value of unified operation.

Two years ago I wrote the following sentences:

"The example of working together with the Congress of Industrial Organizations at the state level during the past two years leaves a definite and positive belief that, when the time is opportune and the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations takes place nationally, we of the state of Missouri will be able immediately to iron out our problems and design a proper merger in Missouri that will redound to the benefit of all Missouri citizens."

"We expect to complete our organization in time to present a unified stand in the elections in August and in November of 1956."

It was a prediction written almost a year before actual merger was effected in Missouri, but it could not have been more accurate if it had been written after the completion of merger.

THE state AFL and CIO conventions held in 1955 authorized the establishment of merger committees which would go to work when merger on the national level became a fact.

But when it became obvious that the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations were going to unite on December 5, 1955, the Missouri committees met—almost a month before the national merger convention—and explored several bases upon which to merge the Missouri State Federation

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of Labor and the Missouri State Industrial Union Council.

Early in January of 1956, following the national merger convention, the Missouri committees met again. Sessions continued until a merger agreement, constitution and other necessary documents were worked out. It was agreed that everything would be put before the state merger convention on April 10.

The committee that laid the groundwork for Missouri labor unity always kept one idea uppermost: What kind of organizational structure would best serve the working people and the trade union movement of our state?

The merger documents were presented to all the local unions in Missouri, irrespective of their affiliation with this or that statewide labor body. Opposition to unity developed when the locals of the Teamsters sought to defeat the merger. They urged other unions to join them. The opposition movement had the effect of creating greater interest in the merger, and the organizations supporting labor unity began to rally their forces.

WHEN the proposal to merge was submitted to the Missouri State Federation of Labor, it was adopted. Merger also won the approval of the State Industrial Union Council. And so the Missouri State Labor Council, AFL-CIO, came into being. The amalgamation created an organization of 651 local unions, with a total membership of 279,462.

We still had to merge our political education machinery. We immediately set out to build upon a solid foundation. We invited all local unions to become a part of the Missouri State Labor Council and to participate in its activities and programs. We implemented the legislative program adopted by the convention in order to be ready when the Legislature convened in January of 1957.

After much exploration, the same committees which had worked out the merger were able to design working rules for the conduct of our political education activities. The two political arms of the statewide labor movements that existed prior to April 10, 1956, were merged into one committee in early August.

Many had thought this would prove an impossible task, but we were able to agree on political education machinery and the establishment of a

political education committee as a working committee of the Missouri State Labor Council. We were also able to agree on candidates for Governor, other statewide offices, the United States Senate and House of Representatives and 113 candidates for the State Legislature.

No financial program to conduct labor's political education activities on the state level existed. We had no funds for state-level political education. The task before us was to implement the national financing program of COPE for federal candidates and to develop one for support of our state candidates. All of this was completed simultaneously with our agreement on candidates and by-laws governing the committee's activities.

The spirit that had prevailed in working out the creation of the united Missouri State Labor Council continued unabated through the development of political education machinery, and gave great encouragement to activity on the local labor movement level, especially for the elections of last November.

Vice-President James A. Davis, director of our Committee on Political Education, and I covered the entire state. We tried to give assistance in political education in every locality we visited. Our affiliated local unions were provided with 200,000 copies of the voting records of U.S. Senators and Representatives supplied by the national COPE. These records were distributed to the members of the local unions. They were in great de-

mand. It was the first effort on so large a scale to inform Missouri union members of the voting records of their Senators and Congressmen on vital issues affecting workers.

The value of the widespread distribution of the voting records was great. Missouri voters not only returned a friendly Senator and nine friendly Congressmen but they also elected an additional friendly Congressman in the Seventh District to replace one who had never given the working people a favorable vote in over twenty-five years as a Congressman.

The enthusiasm generated by the national and state mergers produced fine results in the Seventh Congressional District. Labor there was never more active, more unified than in the efforts last fall to elect Charles H. Brown to Congress. A district which in 1952 had given Dewey Short a margin of 44,000 votes defeated him four years later by 1,000 votes.

Greene County, where the strongest push was made by a fine local COPE organization, gave Charlie Brown a 5,500-vote majority, whereas four years earlier Dewey Short had carried that county by 6,700.

We do not claim sole responsibility for Missouri's unique position in the Presidential election. Adlai Stevenson carried our state by 4,000 votes after losing it by 30,000 in 1952. It is fair to note that even our enemies said the result would have been different without a merged labor movement and without unified political education (*Continued on Page 31*)



The Missouri labor movement believes it is important to make friends with folks who live and work on the farms. Ladies' auxiliary members visit with farm wives, tell about unions and learn about agriculture.

# AFL-CIO Backs Pay Campaign of Government Employees



Above—AFL-CIO President Meany speaking at rally. Below—Part of vast crowd of delegates from every state.



PAY of employees of the federal government must be raised this year, AFL-CIO President George Meany declared last month in an address heard by more than 2,000 delegates from every state assembled in Washington's Lisner Auditorium. He spoke at a conference sponsored by twenty-three national unions representing government workers.

Mr. Meany assailed recent remarks of Budget Director Brundage, who had voiced fear of "inflation" if government employees received salary increases this year. In effect, Uncle Sam's employees are helping to subsidize their government through failure to receive merited pay increases, Mr. Meany said. He assured the delegates of the fullest support of the AFL-CIO in their drive for just treatment.

William C. Doherty, president of the National Association of Letter Carriers and chairman of the AFL-CIO Government Employees Council, denounced Budget Director Brundage's suggestion that, instead of a general pay increase, special adjustments might be made in "special situations."

# Council Removes Dave Beck

## THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

removed Dave Beck on May 20 as a vice-president of the AFL-CIO and as a member of the Council. The Council's action against Beck, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, was announced to newsmen by AFL-CIO President George Meany. The vote was unanimous, Mr. Meany said in answer to a reporter's question.

The Executive Council acted after Mr. Meany, in Beck's presence, summarized charges against Beck which had previously been given to him in documentary form. Instead of answering the charges against him, Beck read a statement and then left the meeting.

The Executive Council's resolution read as follows:

"The Executive Council finds that Vice-President Beck has been guilty of gross misuse of union funds entrusted to his care. Whether he has violated any laws, state or federal, dealing with theft, misappropriation or embezzlement is not for us to consider or determine.

"There is not the faintest question in our minds, however, that he is completely guilty of violating the basic trade union law that union funds are a sacred trust, belonging to the members and to be protected and safeguarded for the interests of the members. Whether Beck stole the funds or borrowed them, the record shows he took advantage of his position as a trade union official to use money belonging to dues-paying members for his own personal gain and profit.

"A full record of these charges was presented to Vice-President Beck prior to this hearing. He does not choose to answer.

"On the basis of these facts and conclusions, the Executive Council finds Dave Beck guilty as charged and removes him as a vice-president of the AFL-CIO and as a member of the Executive Council."

Meanwhile, the Ethical Practices Committee of the AFL-CIO is proceeding with

its assignment of determining whether the International Brotherhood of Teamsters is "dominated, controlled or substantially influenced by any corrupt influence." On May 6 the Ethical Practices Committee spelled out the "public record." The Teamsters' executive board asked for and was granted until May 24 to reply.

AFL-CIO Vice-President A. J. Hayes, chairman of the committee and president of the International Association of Machinists, said that on May 24 the committee would "consider any material the Teamsters Union desires to present." Upon the conclusion of its probe, the committee will file its report with the Executive Council. The committee is empowered to make such recommendations as it considers appropriate.

In an opening statement, Mr. Hayes said that a summary staff report from the "public records" involved matters which are "not news to anyone."

On the "Labor Answers Your Questions" radio program, AFL-CIO President Meany was asked about the hearings of the special Senate investigating committee headed by Senator John McClellan of Arkansas. Mr. Meany said:

"I have no reason to believe that the hearings to date have not been fair. Of course, we're watching the developments very carefully, and we realize that while there are a number of members of Congress who are sincerely desirous of improving the situation in the trade union movement, we feel there are others who would perhaps use these exposés of the shortcomings and sins of a few people in the movement to promote adverse legislation that would be harmful to labor."

In regard to legislation, Mr. Meany said:

"I'm quite certain that there isn't any particular legislation needed to stop thievery. I assume that every state in the Union has on its statute books laws against fraud, embezzlement and thievery of every kind."

# Gloomy Talk About PRODUCTIVITY Doesn't Make Sense

By NATHANIEL GOLDFINGER  
*Economist, AFL-CIO Department of Research*

HERE has been much gloomy talk in recent months about a supposed "lag" of productive efficiency in the American economy. President Eisenhower touched off this discussion in his economic report to Congress in January, when he spoke of "only a very small gain in overall productivity" in 1956.

The theme has been picked up by business groups and broadcast throughout the land as an employer argument against improvements in wages and fringe benefits. Business groups are propagandizing the view that wages and fringe benefits should increase, if at all, only in some kind of rigid relationship with productivity.

According to this view, if productivity is not increasing or is rising at a very slow pace, as business groups and the Administration claim to be the case, then workers should get no wage and fringe benefit improvements or, at best, only very small improvements.

What has actually been happening to productivity? Has productive efficiency in the United States ceased to improve? Is output per man-hour of work lagging far behind past trends, as the gloomy commentators want us to believe? Should trade unions call a halt to demands for

improvements in the living conditions of working people and their families?

Let us look at the facts—facts that explode the gloomy talk about "lagging" productive efficiency.

Productivity (output per man-hour of work) is not easy to measure. A major difficulty, for example, is the change in the product. If you simply

count units of output, in an attempt to measure productivity, is a 1957 automobile, with automatic transmission and directional signals, a comparable unit with a 1947 model?

As a result of such difficulties there are differences in methods of measuring productivity. There are likewise differences in productivity indexes. Despite these difficulties and differences, however, there is general agreement on many things concerning productivity.

Among the issues on which there is widespread agreement are:

1. Output per man-hour of work in the national economy has been rising over a long period of time.

2. It has been rising more rapidly in recent years than over the long-run past.

3. The spreading use of automation and other changes in production processes, machines and work-flow is a potential for a continuing rapid increase in productivity in the future.

4. Output per man-hour of work does not improve at a constant rate, year in and year out. It rises rapidly in some years, slowly in other years, declines in an occasional year or two.

5. Productivity improves at different rates in different industries—fast in some, slow in others.

It is generally agreed that output



NATHANIEL GOLDFINGER

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per man-hour of work in the private non-government part of the national economy has risen at an average yearly rate of about 2 to 2½ per cent over the past fifty years or more. In some of those years man-hour output rose as much as 7½ per cent or more—as in 1918-1919 and 1949-50.

In a few other years man-hour output declined—1931-1932 and 1945-1956, for example.

**T**HE long-run trend of output per man-hour of work in the national economy has been definitely upward. But the rate of improvement has not been the same in all years. The pace of improvement has been different from one year to the next.

It is also generally agreed that the national economy's output per man-hour of work, in recent years, has risen at a faster rate than over the past fifty years and more. From 1947 through 1956 man-hour output in the private non-government part of the national economy has risen at an average yearly rate of 3 to 3½ per cent. In some years the rate of improvement was great—as in 1949-1950. In other years—such as 1950-1951—it was slow.

Output per man-hour of production and maintenance workers in manufacturing industries has been rising at a rather rapid rate, somewhat faster than in the overall national economy. From 1947 through 1956, it is estimated, the productivity of production and maintenance workers in factories rose about 37 per cent, an average yearly increase of about 3½ per cent.

With man-hour output in the national economy rising at an average yearly rate of 3 to 3½ per cent in recent years—and at an average rate of about 3½ per cent in manufacturing industries—it is clear to see that there is no factual basis for the propaganda about "lagging" productive efficiency.

Furthermore, the gloomy talk in recent months has come at the

wrong time. Productivity was rising at a fair pace toward the end of 1956 and in the early months of 1957, when President Eisenhower and business groups touched off the current discussion.

Although there are no generally accepted estimates available at present for productivity trends in the past two years, it is possible to detect the trends rather clearly. This can be done by examining output, employment and hours of work.

The trend of output per man-hour of work in the past couple of years shows a continuation of the upward movement of productivity of recent years—a continuing rise of man-hour output, with variations in the pace of improvement.

During most of 1954 and 1955, productivity rose at a rapid rate. Toward the end of 1955 the increase of the national economy's output per man-hour of work seems to have slowed down—as it had done, temporarily, on numerous occasions in the past.

Productivity in the national economy apparently increased through 1955, but at a slower pace than in the first half of 1955, although the pace of improvement naturally differed

from one industry to another. In the first quarter of 1957 and at present, output per man-hour of work has been rising at a fairly rapid rate.

There is absolutely nothing in this record of advancing productivity in the past two years to substantiate the gloom about the nation's productive efficiency.

In the fourth quarter of 1956 the physical volume of the nation's total output of goods and services was about 2½ per cent greater than in the fourth quarter of 1955. But total employment in the final months of 1956 was only nine-tenths of 1 per cent greater than in the same period of the previous year, and working hours were down somewhat.

In other words, a 2½ per cent rise in the total physical output of the nation was produced with only a very small increase in total man-hours of work—considerably different from a serious lag in productivity.

The record of the nation's total output, employment and hours of work for the first quarter of 1957 indicates a continuing rise in productivity—apparently at a more rapid pace than in 1956.

If we examine the record of output, employment and working hours in manufacturing industries, we can see the trend of the past two years even more clearly. In the fourth quarter of 1956 manufacturing output was 2.1 per cent greater than in the same period of 1955, according to the Federal Reserve Board. But seven-tenths of 1 per cent fewer production and maintenance workers were employed in manufacturing industries, and they worked 1.2 per cent fewer hours.

A substantial increase in manufacturing production was turned out with fewer production and maintenance workers, working a smaller number of hours.

There was a rapid increase in output per man-hour of work of factory production and maintenance employes between the fourth quarter of

## More Output With Fewer Man-Hours

	Manufacturing Production	Man-Hours of Production and Maintenance Workers in Manufacturing
<b>1954</b>		
1st Quarter	100.0	100.0
2nd Quarter	99.2	96.3
3rd Quarter	99.2	96.6
4th Quarter	103.2	100.0
<b>1955</b>		
1st Quarter	106.4	100.5
2nd Quarter	111.1	103.3
3rd Quarter	112.7	105.5
4th Quarter	115.1	109.1
<b>1956</b>		
1st Quarter	114.3	105.3
2nd Quarter	113.5	103.5
3rd Quarter	113.5	103.6
4th Quarter	117.5	107.2
<b>1957</b>		
1st Quarter	116.7	103.3

1st Quarter 1954 = 100

Source: Federal Reserve Board and Bureau of Labor Statistics

1955 and the same months of 1956.

If we compare the record of the first three months of 1957 with the first quarter of 1956, we find a similar indication of substantial improvements in output per man-hour of work. The output of manufacturing industries rose 2.1 per cent between the first quarters of 1956 and 1957, while the number of production and maintenance workers declined 1 per cent and working hours fell eight-tenths of 1 per cent.

**G**LOOM about the productive efficiency of the American economy is not based on facts about current developments. Nor is it based on the great potential for rapid increases in productivity in the months ahead—with billions of dollars' worth of new and improved machinery and production processes going into operation.

If there is a basis for any gloom at all on anyone's part, it is the gloom of a small but growing number of workers—especially factory workers—who are being laid off because of a failure of sales to rise fast enough in the face of increasing productivity. The number of production and maintenance workers in American factories has been declining continuously for five months, and total factory employment (including white collar, technical and supervisory employees) has been declining for three months.

Although man-hour output is rising at a fairly rapid pace, contrary to Administration and business propaganda, is there any sense to the idea that wage increases should be tied rigidly to productivity?

When output per man-hour of work rises, the employer's cost of producing each item tends to go down. The savings that arise from advancing productivity help to make possible improvements in wages and fringe benefits and some price reductions as well. It is trade union action, however, that obtains wage and fringe benefit improvements for workers and, as we know, there are few, if any, price cuts.

Over the long run it is the continuing advance of output per man-hour of work, for the most part, that makes possible improved living conditions. The improvements of living conditions are naturally not automatic and are obtained mainly through collective bargaining and legislation.

Rising productivity, however, is only one among several factors in any particular negotiations between a union and an employer. An important consideration in contract negotiations, for example, is the cost of living.

Working people have a right to continuing improvements in living conditions—continuing increases in the buying power of their wages and salaries. This means that wage increases to compensate for rising living costs are required, at a bare minimum, to maintain buying power.

A major consideration in negotiations is the profits of the employer and industry—something that is much easier to determine than the economy's or industry's productivity. Trade unions generally insist on the right of wage and salary earners to share in the profitability of their employer and industry and in the benefits of the economy's rising productivity.

Other important factors in bargaining include the union's attempt to bring wages, fringe benefits and general working conditions at least up to the level for the same kind of work in the industry and area, and the union's desire to eliminate substandard wages and working conditions.

Employers and politicians who suggest that negotiations on wages and fringe benefits be tied rigidly to some kind of productivity index must know that their suggestion is not worthy of serious discussion. In a free economy in peacetime, trade unions obviously act with a great deal of flexibility.

ability—as unions should act under those conditions. Trade unions are not about to accept wage controls in peacetime and to tie wages and fringe benefits directly and rigidly to a productivity index, any more than business is about to accept tight controls over prices and profits.

**T**HE suggestion that wages and fringe benefits be directly tied to a productivity index obviously makes no sense. If the suggestion were followed, prices and profits, too, should be tied to statistical indexes, as well as the incomes of other economic groups. The nature of our economy would be changed in many ways.

Furthermore, such a wage-productivity tie-in is just impossible. Productivity figures are rough estimates at best. And the best rough estimates of productivity, on which there is general agreement, are some three years late. We do not yet have published government statistics on productivity in manufacturing industries for 1954, and there is no government index on productivity in the national economy. The idea of a direct and rigid wage-productivity tie-in is as impractical as it is nonsensical.

The wage and productivity talk from business groups in recent months is nothing more than an attempt to confuse the collective bargaining picture. Productivity is rising, contrary to their unfounded propaganda, and the idea of a rigid wage-productivity tie-in in peacetime obviously is impractical and makes no sense in our kind of free economy.

## Plea Made on Migrant Travel

**L**ABOR has asked the Interstate Commerce Commission to hold fast to the rules it has promulgated to regulate the transportation of migrant agricultural workers. Farm employers have raised strong objections.

Lewis G. Hines of the AFL-CIO, chairman of the Labor Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, told an ICC hearing that failure of the commission to stand firmly behind its new regulations would violate the clear intent of Congress when it passed the law giving it powers to regulate interstate transportation of migrant workers.

Mr. Hines, who also appeared on behalf of the U.S. Section of the Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union

Committee, recalled that the legislation, passed with AFL-CIO backing, grew out of discussions with Mexican unions on transportation abuses in the Mexican contract labor program.

He was backed up in testimony by Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor Charles D. Stewart, who called the new regulations "reasonable" and "an important step in remedying the evils now frequently present in the transportation of migrant workers."

The regulations were also supported in statements filed by the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes, National Association of Motor Bus Operators and National Consumers League.

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# You Can Learn a Lot in Ten Years

By JACK KROLL

*The author was director of the Political Action Committee of the CIO. Upon the merger of the AFL and the CIO, he became co-director of the Committee on Political Education. He has recently retired as co-director of COPE.*



JACK KROLL

A FEW months after I became director of the old CIO Political Action Committee in 1946, labor and the cause of liberalism took a terrific beating at the polls. Liberals, for the first time in sixteen years, lost control of both houses of Congress. Honest, able public servants like Bob LaFollette and Andy Biemiller of Wisconsin were replaced by legislators like William Jenner and Joseph McCarthy. The bloc of liberal Northern Democrats in the House was cut in half. In the Senate all liberal candidates were defeated.

The following year Taft-Hartley became law and a lot of the rights which labor had fought through to enactment in the Wagner Act went down the drain.

That first year was not a happy one for labor or liberals at the polls.

Ten years later, in the election of 1956, the picture was quite different. In spite of the overwhelming victory of the Republican Presidential candidate, Democratic Congressional candidates ran up over one million votes more than their Republican opponents. Liberal candidates, in the main, were elected while reactionary candidates were defeated.

Even more remarkable to me was the fact that in no instance was a candidate elected who had run on a forthright anti-union platform.

It was quite a contrast with the election of 1946.

I cite these two elections not because they mark the first and last elections in which I participated as a director of a national labor effort. I cite them mainly because to me they are indicative of the steps forward we have taken in the past ten years and, more importantly, as indicative of what we in the labor movement can do when we buckle down to the job.

I cite them also as a reminder that, as far as the present-day labor movement goes, we've been in politics only a very short time.

Ten years ago we tended to think of politics much as the average individual does—that is, that it is all sound and fury. We thought that ballyhoo and statements to the press every day and on every subject would influence millions of voters. We bought ads and radio and television time. We printed millions of leaflets and pamphlets without worrying too much about how they would be dis-

tributed, and too often they lay unopened in local union offices.

Today we know better. We think more in terms of registered voters and precinct organization and political action and education on a year-round basis. That is as it should be, for in entering this world of politics we are entering a field dominated by superb professionals.

It is a popular notion that the energetic and well-intentioned amateur in the field of politics can win from the well-organized professionals and, I will grant, it has happened on occasions. But the number of times that the well-organized professionals have defeated well-meaning, once-every-two-years politicians is unfortunately too large to count.

The greatest contribution we in the labor movement have made to the political life of our nation, I feel, is that we have combined our knowledge of organization with our idealism to raise political standards. It is true that in some parts of the country politicians can still get elected by methods somewhat short of ideal democratic practice. But those areas are getting smaller.

Thanks largely to the efforts of



**Labor's women can do more than any other group to inject enthusiasm and drive into our political education activities, the author asserts.**

our movement, more people have the means of contrasting a candidate's speeches with his actions.

They have some understanding of the important issues of our times and they are not content with the appeals to passion, prejudice and ignorance.

**T**HE profession of the politician is an old one and, in the main, an honorable one. The politician is as good or as bad as the people he represents. If he is a double-dealer and a crook, it is because his constituents let him get away with it. If he is a conscientious public servant, as I believe the vast majority are, it is because his constituents demand that kind of conduct from him and give him support.

For example, up until recent times it was commonly accepted that the financing of a political campaign should be left to those able to make sizable political contributions. The notion that a few dollars here and there from individuals without sizable personal treasures could finance a political campaign was dismissed as impractical and unrealistic.

We set out to demonstrate that individual contributions could and should finance the campaigns of candidates who wished to be free of ties to a few wealthy individuals and interest groups. Today more and more emphasis is being placed on the \$1 and \$5 contribution. Men seeking a career in public life know they do not have to tie themselves up with the \$5000 and \$10,000 contributors.

When a man is obligated to 10,000 individual contributors of \$1 he is far freer to act in the public interest than if he is obligated to one contributor who has given \$10,000.

In launching and carrying on this campaign for a small individual contribution from hundreds of thousands

of people, we in the labor movement have done more than just collect funds. We have at the same time carried on a popular program of political education that is, I venture, without parallel in American history.

It is useful for people to ask why they should contribute a dollar to a political campaign, and it is important that the person who asks for the dollar knows the answers. In that exchange, even though it may consist

of no more than a few sentences, an awareness of the whole political process has been established, and people who are aware are less likely to squander their democratic birthright.

The same is true with our registration campaigns. I very quickly learned that the politician responds much better to ten additional registrants in his district than 100 leaflets passed out to casual passersby. The politician worthy of his trade knows who is registered in his district and who is not, often better than we do.

In urging people to register, whether or not they respond, we are making them conscious of the fact that they are the ones responsible for the kind of government we all live under. When they do respond they get a feeling they are part of the government, as indeed they are, and that what happens in the city courthouse, the state capitol or in Washington is their responsibility.

Today all sorts of people and organizations are urging small individ-



**COPE advises people to register. When they respond they get a feeling they are part of the government.**

ual contributions to political parties and registration. Each union can take pride in the fact that it was the labor movement that led the way.

I must hasten to add I have no illusion our job is done. On the contrary, it has only begun. The realization of our full political potential lies down the road—how far depends upon our own initiative, energy and imagination.

We have made our local union officers, at least, aware of the fact that union members should be asked to contribute to COPE. But it would be idle to pretend that most union members are ever asked for that contribution. I have found very few union members who will not contribute at least \$1 to COPE if they are asked to do so. Often they will give more if the job of explaining why is properly done.

In many places, too, our local central bodies have established systematic procedures for checking on the registration of our members and have conducted campaigns to enroll as voters those who were not registered. But there are many places where this has not as yet been done and where the need is urgent.

**I**N SOME places we have started to make good use of one of our most valuable resources, our womanpower. Women in politics can do more to instill enthusiasm and drive and energy into our work than any other group. We need more of them in all phases of our political activity.

More needs to be done to establish firmly the notion that political activity is a year-round activity, that we can no more abandon it between elections than we can dismantle our fire departments between fires.

When we have done these things, we will have a firm foundation on which to build. What kind of structure will be built upon these foundations is something for future conventions and future leaders to decide.

For myself, I have been too much concerned with making sure that labor has a functioning political organization to worry overmuch about the future. Too often in the past we have seen movements founder because they could not agree over details of a program that could have no possible application for generations.

I am, and have been for all of my life, primarily an organizer. I re-



**Election Day is the big test of the effectiveness of our political education efforts. Jack Kroll notes that we are making progress.**

spect the philosopher, but he has had his job to do and I have had mine. My job has been to build a political organization, and I have profound faith that the men and women of the labor movement and their leaders will know what to do with that organization when it has been built.

It will, I know, conform with the basic objectives of our trade union movement because it cannot exist as other than a part of our trade union movement.

Through our trade unions we seek, basically, to enrich the lives of men. We try to help them meet a little better their material demands for bread and butter and clothing and shelter and a decent education for the kids. We try, too, to help them meet the needs of the spirit for some dignity on the job, a sense of value to oneself and to the community.

In our political activity we have the same objectives. We are merely extending our trade union activity into another sphere and affording our members as political beings the same opportunity for exercising their collective strength as they enjoy, as economic beings, through their trade unions.

I have no fear this strength will be used unwisely. If we do not truly represent the hopes and aspirations of ordinary people, we will not be effective and we will have no strength. If we do represent them, our reward in terms of legislation and program on behalf of the common welfare will be sufficient.

It has always been a source of pride to me that I could say with complete honesty to the political leaders with whom I have dealt that we were not interested in patronage, that we did not expect to receive personal favors or special treatment of any kind.

I have never in my life asked a politician for a personal favor and I, therefore, have never had any hesitancy in asking him to take a stand on a matter of principle.

I'd rather live under a police commissioner who won't fix traffic tickets and won't send police out to bust up a legitimate picket line than save a few bucks on a traffic ticket and see the cops out pushing my people around.

We are not in politics for the sake of building the prestige and ego of a few men. We're in politics because that's the American way of meeting our problems and because we know that if we don't meet our problems in this way, we'll have solutions imposed upon us.

Our strength is our adherence to principle, our conviction that what we do will result in the greatest good for the greatest number and our unbounded faith in our democratic system and the ability of the people to make it work.

For my own part, it has been a privilege to participate in this activity.

I owe the trade union movement much for it and for the opportunity to do what I like to do.

I intend to keep on doing it.

# The Bunk About Wage Costs

By **GEORGE D. RILEY**  
*Legislative Representative, AFL-CIO*

**T**HE federal highway program was announced originally as a \$101,000,000,000 undertaking. When it appeared that many citizens were having difficulty in thinking in such vast terms, a \$50,000,000,000 figure started circulation, and the states went thoroughly conservative in their estimates of costs for highway construction to be done within their boundaries.

The \$50,000,000,000 tag took hold. Congress passed the legislation. Money began to pour into the trust fund. Mentally, the nation's motorists started riding on the new limited-access roads.

Now there are signs that the original \$101,000,000,000 figure may be nearer the real amount for the same mileage contemplated in the \$50,000,000,000 which Congress envisaged when it wrapped up the highway legislation last year.

State-by-state estimates of construction costs were compiled for the information of Congress in 1954. Now, according to *Engineering News-Record*, "highway officials are shocked over skyrocketing costs of the new federal highway building program."

And an attempt is made to pin the blame on labor costs.

But last February the U.S. Department of Commerce pointed out that wage costs in highway construction are vastly on the decline while contract bid figures are on a steep incline.

"Road construction volume in 1955," the Department of Commerce said, "was nine times that for 1944, while labor usage in 1955 was [only] five times that for 1944."

As the machines used in road construction mount in size and increase in efficiency, the labor cost factor diminishes, thus providing a rebuttal



GEORGE D. RILEY

to *Engineering News-Record*, to the Carolinas Branch of the Associated General Contractors and to all others who are engaged in spreading the "increased labor costs" fallacy.

The position of the low-wage regional branch of the Associated General Contractors has been summed up as follows:

"Carolinas Branch, AGC, staged an all-out fight last year to defeat the Davis-Bacon section of the highway bill, branding it as 'unnecessary, expensive and a tool of union officials.'"

And so the Carolinas Branch carries on for the lowest wages possible—or at least against a law which requires that the wage rates shall be the same as those paid for similar work in the community.

Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks, no dear friend to the Davis-Bacon Act, has done the cause of the Carolinas Branch no good by coming up with the actual facts and figures regarding highway construction wages and their relation to total costs

as reflected in the bid figures. He has told the Carolinas Branch that with each passing year the cost of labor will be less and less. One reason is improved equipment—machines, for example, which lay bituminous topping at the rate of eighty-four feet a minute.

But as steadily as highway contract bid figures rose between 1944 and 1955, it is evident that more recently they have climbed even higher.

John H. Lyons, Jr., general organizer of the Iron Workers, called attention to some interesting points at the recent national legislative conference of the Building and Construction Trades Department.

He explained that equalizing of wage rates, benefits and working conditions through legislation opens the door to more competitive bidding and more efficient construction. He cited recently awarded highway contracts which were an average of 75 per cent greater than estimates that had been prepared only three months earlier.

In the same period building construction costs rose only 12 per cent. Those contractors involved in the 12 per cent rise are those who pay benefits and operate under conditions which the building trades endeavor to make apply to all government construction, whereas the highway contractors do not so operate.

It is interesting to take a look at cost studies concerning all types of highway construction during 1956. In New York State labor costs were about 29.5 per cent of all costs. In California, another high-wage state, labor costs averaged 28.3 per cent. In Florida, a low-wage state, the average labor cost was 21.9 per cent.

Statistics on labor costs by them-

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selves do not present the full picture. To assess the part which labor costs play in relation to overall construction costs, it is necessary to consider the sharp decline in the amount of labor employed in highway construction as a result of the use of new methods and new machinery.

The Bureau of Public Roads, U.S. Department of Commerce, recently completed a study which showed very clearly how the man-hours of direct labor in highway construction had decreased between 1944 and 1955. The findings were published in the February issue of *Public Roads*, the Bureau's magazine.

The Bureau of Public Roads, on the basis of data on the use of labor collected by it since 1944, found a pronounced decrease in the number of man-hours of direct labor required for a given physical volume of highway construction. Direct labor was defined as "labor employed by the contractor at or near the site of the project."

For the most part, these are the workers who are covered by the prevailing wage requirements of the Highway Act.

In its study the Bureau of Public Roads learned that between 1944 and 1955 there was a reduction in labor usage factors of 43 per cent. Such a reduction naturally meant a tremendous drop in contractors' labor costs. This great decrease in the number of hours of labor required, the Bureau found, was basically due to "increased productivity of the labor-equipment combination resulting from great strides that have been made by manufacturers in developing more efficient construction equipment."

In plain words, automation has come to the highway construction field, and the road contractor today uses something like a half of the workers he did in 1944.

The Bureau of Public Roads gave due regard to the changes in price levels which occurred between 1944 and 1955 and made the necessary adjustments, using the Bureau's highway construction price index. The Bureau's figures are as accurate as humanly possible. No one can honestly argue that the findings reported are not authentic.

The Bureau of Public Roads has also projected its study to cover the whole period of the federal highway



Magnificent new highways may be costly, but labor is not to blame.

program up to 1970. After showing that from a value of approximately 217,700 man-hours per million dollars of construction costs in 1944 the man-hours fell off to about 123,000 in 1955, the study indicates the drop in 1960 will be to 104,000 man-hours and for 1970 it will be down to 80,000 man-hours.

As noted earlier in this article, it was found that road construction volume in 1955 was nearly nine times that for 1944, while the amount of labor used in 1955 was only five times that for 1944.

This study by the Bureau of Public Roads of the U.S. Department of Commerce should lay to rest the "increased labor costs" bugaboo so dear to the hearts of low-wage road contractors.

It is evident that labor costs in highway construction are diminishing. Therefore, labor costs cannot possibly be blamed for any increases in expenditures for the new roads. The facts are plain. Now it will be interesting to see whether the foes of labor will stop or continue their false allegations about "increased labor costs."

With the rise in the use of machinery, fewer workers are employed.



# Automation and Collective Bargaining

By JACK BARBASH

*Research and Educational Director,  
AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department*

**A**UTOMATION describes a technological system. From the collective bargaining perspective, automation is technological change—accelerated technological change. As a technological system, automation carries with it no intrinsic economic logic which inexorably flows from it.

Under one set of economic arrangements, automation can mean wholesale labor displacement. Under another set of economic arrangements, automation need not have such consequences and impact.

Collective bargaining is a vehicle through which one can make some specific assumptions as to the nature of the economic arrangements that can conceivably follow from automation in general and in specific. Not that the collective bargaining response is uniform and unvaried. The contrary is true.

From the angle of vision that collective bargaining necessarily takes, the central problem that automation raises for the union and management turns on the job shifts that technological change inevitably generates. Automation intensifies the magnitude and character of the job shifts and therefore makes the collective bargaining accommodation more complex.

Nat Weinberg, research director of the United Auto Workers, has illuminated the nature of these job shifts by identifying four kinds of displacements stimulated by automation.

The first type of displacement is *external* displacement. External displacement describes the separation of the worker from employment.



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A second type of displacement is *internal* displacement. Internal displacement describes the situation in which the worker is separated from his usual job but is transferred to another job, either higher rated or lower rated.

*Competitive* displacement is the third type. Here no one loses a job in the specific establishment installing automation. But the superior competitive position made possible by automation causes a worsening of the position of competitors and results in layoffs in the competitors' plants.

Finally, there is what Weinberg calls *opportunity* displacement. Here again there is no immediate separation from employment in the auto-

mated establishment but a contraction of job opportunities in the plant and in the industry as a whole.

CURRENT discussions on the employment consequences of automation have been preoccupied with the first type of displacement, i.e., external (involuntary) displacement. This external displacement has been at a minimum because we are in a high-level employment economy as of this writing. But the problems arising out of technological change which collective bargaining must confront turn on all kinds of displacements or shifts. And in any case the use of net employment figures obscures the extent to which external displacement is in fact taking place.

A Bureau of Labor Statistics study of the installation of an electronic computer in a large insurance company can serve as a case in point. One hundred and ninety-eight persons had been previously required to carry out the functions of the automated installation. One hundred and six had to be released from the automated section. Seventy-two were transferred to other jobs within the same division. Fifteen were transferred to jobs in other divisions. One retired and eighteen resigned.

There seems to have been no net external displacement. Yet there were two kinds of job shifts. A minority of the employees were put on the automated jobs. The vast majority of the employees were transferred and a few resigned.

From the union's viewpoint, collective bargaining is concerned not

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only with employment but with individual employees shifted from one job to another. These job shifts bring with them changes in job titles, in working conditions, in salaries and in work environment. Anybody who has any feeling for the collective bargaining process as it is carried on in modern industry will recognize at once that here we have the raw material out of which grievances arise.

In broad scope the collective bargaining objectives of unions generally—but underscored for technological change—can be put as follows (not necessarily in any special order):

►To moderate the force of reduction in employment opportunities.

►To protect the individual worker from arbitrary and harsh action in the transition period by insisting on the participating role of the union in the administration of the technological change.

►To prevent the impairment of earning opportunities.

►To enforce safe working conditions.

►To conserve the skill standards of a craft.

►To protect union jurisdiction.

Collective bargaining is approaching the challenge of automation in two ways. First, it is retooling established bargaining instrumentalities to serve the purposes and needs called forth by automation. So that seniority, guaranteed employment, severance pay, "improvement factors," reduction in hours and other established provisions are being utilized to ease the shock of transition for the individual worker.

Automation is, however, confronting collective bargaining with even more fundamental adjustments—most notably in the area of work standards. It is already clear, for example, that prevailing concepts of job evaluation, time study and incentives will have to be overhauled to take into account the new work situations created by the automated plant.

The concern of unions with automation as fundamental technological change is also demonstrated by the increasing move toward the establishment of joint automation committees, to cope with and plan for automation, long before the employment effects begin to operate.

The redistribution of skills which automation sets in motion not only affects immediate collective bargain-

ing approaches. It will affect the character of the population represented in bargaining.

The report on automation of David Morse, director-general of the International Labor Organization, has put the trends in the redistribution of skills very succinctly:

"Increased mechanization and use of machine power to replace human effort will accelerate the shift of emphasis in industry from production to planning and preparation, from workshop to office, from the assembly line to the tool room and the drawing office."

**W**HAT this means to me is that the labor movement will have to confront the problem of organizing the salaried worker in a more serious and systematic way than it has had to before. There is recent evidence that the labor movement is indeed facing up to this problem in a serious and systematic way.

If automation makes the salaried worker more important to the union, the union also becomes more important to the salaried worker. Automation must inevitably have the effect of transforming the conception that the salaried worker has of his role and status in American economic society.

It must inevitably force the salaried employee to conform to what Tugwell has called the industrial discipline. As the salaried worker conforms to the industrial discipline, he will have to consider the implications of working in a highly organized and rationalized industrial environment very much like that of the traditional industrial worker.

Automation accentuates, underscores and emphasizes the process of alienation of the salaried employee from the employers. The introduction of electronic devices as a substitute for highly personal professional, technical and administrative skills is already having the effect, and will inevitably have the increasing effect, of subjecting the salaried employee to the industrial discipline with its uncertainties and pressures. It is the fear of such dislocations in the work situation that makes the stuff out of which unions are built.

Automation as a "quantum jump" in technological change, to use Weinberg's phrase, is impelling the union to shift its focus from preoccupation

with the job to the problems of the industry and the problems of the whole economy.

If automation has an economic logic, the logic which it imposes on the thinking of the unionist is the need to see the collective bargaining implications in an inter-industry and total economy context. It is the expanding angle of vision which automation imposes on the collective bargaining process—I would go so far to say as a condition of survival so far as the union is concerned—that distinguishes automation from the less drastic technological innovations.

I happen to believe that collective bargaining must be taken into account not only because it is here but because collective bargaining is a major resource in avoiding or minimizing major dislocations. In fact, I believe collective bargaining in the major sectors of American industry—combined, to be sure, with high-level employment—has been the major reason why we do not yet have the kinds of technological horror stories of earlier generations.

Collective bargaining as a factor in conditioning the impact of technological change is a little difficult for some of our colleagues in the economist's craft to take. The economist has been trained to think in terms of costs and employment. Collective bargaining, particularly from the union's side of the table, also means individual workers and their incomes and what happens to them as human beings.

The higher learning in economics, with its preoccupation with econometrics and model building, has not yet evolved an equation which can take these human factors into account. Be that as it may, I offer the proposition that there is no sanction in morality or a human conception of public policy that requires a heedless plunge into technological change without taking account of and planning for measures to ameliorate the disorganizing consequences of change.

I do not want to be understood as suggesting that collective bargaining is the only vehicle through which the social dislocations can be averted. On the contrary, collective bargaining between free unions and free management makes sense as a tool to realize the full human potential of automation only as it is part of a comprehensive program of public policy in a free society.

# *Labor Unity Has Helped the Newspaper Guild*

By JOSEPH F. COLLIS  
*President, American Newspaper Guild*

THE AFL-CIO is a year and a half old, and it is time for us in the American Newspaper Guild to take stock of the effects of the merger on our union.

When the Guild, shortly after its formation, affiliated with the AFL in 1936, our membership doubled to more than 10,000 in the first year. And within a year after joining the CIO in 1937, membership had climbed another 60 per cent to 16,000. In each instance newspaper workers could point to a marked increase in the effectiveness of their collective bargaining: more and more contracts were won providing better and better benefits.

Has the merger of the AFL and the CIO into a single, great federation of labor—with the American Newspaper Guild a part of it—been followed by similar gains and added strength? I think it has.

There has been nothing so spectacular, of course, as the almost spontaneous growth of the Guild which occurred in its formative years during the depression. But the past year did bring substantial gains to our membership in all areas of the Guild's activity. And we feel the establishment of a united labor movement played an important part in the achievement of these advances.

I am not suggesting that the mere combining of the initials "AFL" and "CIO" worked some mystical power to bring us all our goals and solve all our problems. Such things obviously don't happen.

I do suggest, however, that the actual achievement of labor unity created a reservoir of collective strength which added weight to our organizing and bargaining efforts and paid off in more frequent successes. Furthermore, the atmosphere of har-



JOSEPH F. COLLIS

mony which resulted from the merger has meant closer contact and greater cooperation with our fellow unionists in the federation.

And this, I think, is of advantage to all concerned, if for no other reason than the wider exchange of ideas and techniques which has followed.

Growth-wise, the period since the merger has been the best in recent years for our organization. In that time some 2,000 additional newspaper workers have been covered by Guild contracts, sending our total active membership to nearly 30,000, and since early 1956 employes in the industry have chosen the Guild in twenty-one of twenty-three representation cases.

These figures may not be impressive to officers and members of unions in mass production industries where a single local union may exceed the Guild's total international membership. To us, however, in an industry characterized by small, isolated pro-

duction units, the figures are extremely gratifying, particularly in the face of the newspaper mergers and suspensions which destroyed all too many jobs in the past year.

Labor unit also has had the immediate effect of breaking down old schisms in the industry and has led to direct affiliation with the Guild of several former AFL federal locals. In Canada, too, we have been strengthened by the affiliation of such locals in British Columbia.

A good part of the success of the organizing activities of the American Newspaper Guild since the merger can be attributed, I think, to the direct assistance we have received from the AFL-CIO field staff. To a small union with a limited staff like ours, this aid has been invaluable. And as things look now, it seems to me that we are going to be calling on the AFL-CIO increasingly in the future to help us organize the white collar workers in our industry who want to win the benefits of unionism.

For one thing, we have discovered in the past year—in the newspaper industry, at least—something of a reawakening of interest among white collar workers in the benefits possible through organization. Inquiries from unorganized newspaper groups for information about the Guild and pleas for help in organizing new Guild units are coming in faster than they have in years.

The rate exceeds anything we've experienced since the depression. In trying to meet these demands, we have increased our staff of international representatives by a third.

What does all this new interest stem from? There are undoubtedly many factors involved. Unorganized white collar workers more and more are feeling the pinch of rising living costs,

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reaching new highs every month, which in many cases have more than wiped out what meager raises their employers may have bestowed on them. Some of them, where the Guild and other unions have contracts covering some departments, have seen first hand what can be achieved through collective action.

But still another important reason, in my opinion, is the AFL-CIO's announced determination to spread the philosophy of organized labor and the benefits of collective bargaining among the white collar occupations. This, perhaps more than anything else, has instilled the courage these workers needed to face the facts of economic life and the will to do something about them through democratic trade unionism.

In the American Newspaper Guild this democracy is embodied in such things as the principle of majority rule governing all deliberations, biennial election of officers by referendum vote, careful budgeting of all finances with quarterly public reports to the entire membership, supremacy of the membership meeting in local affairs and our representative assemblies, which in larger locals function much like Congress or state legislatures to assure every unit and every member a voice in the councils of their union.

**S**INCE the AFL-CIO merger, Guild members have chalked up some notable gains in collective bargaining. The wage increases our locals have negotiated in the past year were among the best in recent years, reflecting the generally prosperous state of the newspaper industry.

As a result, our wage goal of \$150 weekly for all key jobs in our jurisdiction needs to be increased. Not only has it been achieved for all practical purposes on an increasing number of newspapers, either through the contract minimums or through the going rate above the contract, but it has suffered from erosion by rising living costs. It no longer reflects our estimate of the true worth of the skills, training and experience demanded by these jobs. Already, the New York Guild local has negotiated minimum salaries as high as \$200 weekly, and I believe that our next convention in July should take steps to revise our existing goals upward.

A summary of our collective bargaining in 1956 also reveals these

trends, which I think are significant:

**Hours.** The shorter workweek is becoming more prevalent. Once a benefit enjoyed almost exclusively by our largest local in New York, the workweek of fewer than 40 hours now is guaranteed by half our contracts. The pattern has been first to reduce the week to 37½ hours and later to go to 35 hours. In New York, where the 35-hour week has been standard for some years, the objective now is 30 hours.

**Vacations.** The movement here has been toward four-week vacations after stated periods of service, as now contained in more than a third of our contracts, and toward shortening the period of required service. Nearly all our contracts provide at least three weeks of vacation annually.

**Severance pay.** Here, too, the progress has been in two directions: increasing the maximum limit and removing the qualifications. Three-fourths of our contracts provide two weeks of severance pay for every year of service up to a maximum of at least 30 weeks; nearly half go to 40 weeks or more, and several of these carry no maximum limit. And more and more contracts—over one-fourth now—provide for severance pay on resignation as well as on dismissal.

**Pensions.** Interest in pensions has developed more slowly in the Guild, perhaps, than in some other unions because of the severance pay guaranteed by our contracts. Lately, however, there has been an increasing demand among Guild members for regular retirement income, and a growing number of locals have negotiated pension funds. This has prompted the Guild to retain a pension consultant. We are now in the process of establishing a commingled fund to be available for the investment of pension contributions won at the local bargaining tables.

Early this year the ANG itself took a major step to improve the welfare of its members. A Guild-wide program of group life insurance was established which provides \$1000 coverage for each paid-up member of a participating local. Several of our major locals already have joined the plan, meeting the costs from dues payments, and the ANG has extended coverage to all members-at-large at no increase in dues.

The unity of labor has not, of course, been a panacea for all the

ills that beset unions. And we have had our quota of the usual difficulties which accompany organizing and bargaining efforts. We have had, and continue to have, other problems of immediate concern to Guild members.

One, which in the long run affects every citizen, is the increasing difficulty some of our members have found in gathering and reporting news of the operations of government bodies on all levels—local, state and federal.

There is more at stake than a reporter's frustration at missing a story when he is barred from an "executive session" or forbidden to travel to Red China, when an official is "unavailable" for questioning, or when non-security information is labeled "secret." When these things happen, the people lose. They have a right to know what's going on in their government and in the world.

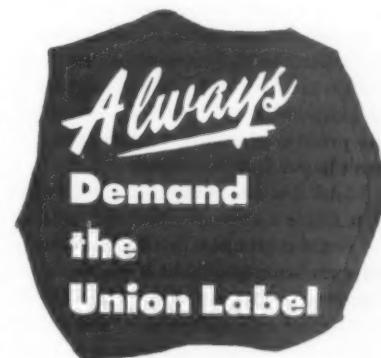
**A** MORE pressing and persistent problem has been the trend toward monopoly in the newspaper industry as a result of business mergers and suspensions.

Here, too, there are immediate and long-range effects.

Of immediate concern to us is the well-being of the workers thrown out of jobs and displaced by a suspension or merger. There were about 800 such economic casualties when the 125-year-old *Boston Post* went bankrupt last year—220 of them Guild members. There were additional casualties in Erie, Pennsylvania, when the *Times* purchased the *Dispatch* and closed it early this year.

Fortunately, most of these people have since found other jobs, largely through emergency placement services established by the Guild to channel information about vacancies in the industry.

But Boston and Erie are only two



examples of what has been happening to the newspaper industry since the turn of the century. In 1910 there were 2,202 dailies of general circulation. By 1956 this figure had declined to 1,761.

Even more important, however, is the decline in competition which occurred at the same time. A study made in 1954 by Professor Raymond Nixon of the University of Minnesota School of Journalism revealed that in 1910 there were 689 American cities having competing daily newspapers. In 1954 there were only 87. Professor Nixon reported these other findings:

Local newspaper monopolies existed in 94 per cent of U.S. cities having daily papers. Eighteen states had no cities with competing dailies. Among cities of less than 100,000 population, only forty-one had competing dailies. Monopoly cities accounted for 46 per cent of the total U.S. daily circulation. Ninety-five newspaper chains, totaling 485 papers, accounted for 27.6 per cent of all daily newspapers and 45.3 per cent of total daily circulation.

The irony of the trend lies in the fact that the newspaper industry generally has prospered over the years and even now is setting new records in total circulation, advertising revenue and lineage. And while the number of newspapers has dropped, the Guild's membership jurisdiction actually has increased. The Census Bureau reports that the number of employees in the industry rose 22 per cent between 1947 and 1954.

The tragedy is that so many mergers and suspensions have been unnecessary and have been perpetrated solely to return a quick profit to the owners.

The Stern family reaped millions by selling their newsprint contracts when they closed the Philadelphia *Record* during a Guild strike in 1946 and left the city. And now that their businessmen's agreement to stay out of the profitable Philadelphia publishing field for ten years has expired, they have promptly returned to the newspaper business there.

And it seems clear that the Brooklyn *Eagle* also was killed for profit.

The danger lies in the conformity of opinion engendered by local newspaper monopolies. The Boston *Post*, for example, was the last remaining major Democratic newspaper in New

England. In many of our cities newspaper readers get only one side of any question concerning the public welfare—the side of the local newspaper monopoly. And in so many cities that side is the anti-labor, pro-big business, pro-Republican side.

In the 1956 election, for example, 62 per cent of the newspapers with 72 per cent of the circulation supported the Republican candidate while 15 per cent of the papers with only 13 per cent of the circulation supported the Democratic candidate. And there was little variation in these figures in the elections of 1952, 1948 and 1944. One-party press? That's your answer.

WHAT's the solution to this problem? There are those who suggest that nothing can be done and that the competition in ideas and opinion must come from other media, principally radio and television. But what happens when the local publisher also owns the local radio and TV stations, as so many of them do?

The American Newspaper Guild has persistently urged the Justice Department to look into newspaper mergers and in some instances inquiries reportedly were made by the Anti-Trust

Division. But no action ever has been taken, to our knowledge.

A more hopeful possibility is that new processes and equipment being developed on the production side of the industry will remove some of the obstacles which lie in any new publishing venture.

Today few publishers or would-be publishers are willing to risk, by entering competition with an established paper, the immense capital expenditure required for machinery in starting even the smallest daily. But some experts now hold out the hope that in the future such big capital outlays may not be necessary. They foresee the day when a new publisher will be able to lease composition equipment and presses and minimize his risk.

In summary, I think it's obvious that the American Newspaper Guild is in healthier condition than ever before and that it has posted noteworthy gains since the AFL-CIO merger in organizing and bargaining. There still are old problems to be faced and there will be new objectives to meet, but through the unity of labor we are now better equipped to do the job.

Merger has brought more members, more money and more militancy.

## Israel Has Big Food Union

ISRAEL'S National Union of Food Workers was established in 1948. At that time some sections of the food industries had reached a high degree of organization, but in others, especially where there were many small enterprises, a good deal of unorganized labor was employed under generally poor conditions.

Today the National Union of Food Workers has achieved almost complete organization in most sections. It is one of the more highly organized unions in Israel.

The Food Workers have members in flour mills, bakeries and macaroni plants and in edible oil, chocolate and soap factories. One of the larger sections includes the manufacture of jams and fruit concentrates as well as canned foods.

In the first years of the National Union of Food Workers, two of its main problems were the wide differences in conditions and the seasonal fluctuations in employment. To a considerable extent these problems

have now been overcome. The union has dealt with the seasonal work problem by securing the right of workers to return to plants in which they had been employed the previous season and to maintain continuity in their benefits. Workers returning to a plant season after season have their seniority protected.

The varied nature of Israel's food industries has precluded the negotiation of a single collective agreement for the entire field, but to a substantial degree a uniform level of wages and benefits has been achieved.

Earnings are made up of the basic wage, seniority allowance, family allowance and cost-of-living allowance. There are various special allowances for skill or for particularly tiring jobs. Certain enterprises give their employees periodic bonuses.

The problems of older workers in Israel's food industries are increasingly prominent in union discussions. The number of members approaching retirement age is growing.

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# The Worker Must Be Safe

By ISADOR LUBIN

*Industrial Commissioner, State of New York*



**The worker who practices right methods can be safe even at tasks that involve serious hazards. In New York the state government, through education and other means, actively promotes job safety.**

**NEW YORK STATE** is traditionally the leader in industrial development throughout the country. Today the state—through its Department of Labor—ranks among the leaders in industrial safety activities as well.

A direct concern of the New York State Department of Labor is the safety of the man at the job and, indirectly, the safety of the public generally. The major task forces in this continuing operation are the Department's Division of Industrial Safety Service, the Division of Industrial Hygiene and the Board of Standards and Appeals.

The activities of these agencies, coordinated within the overall program of the Department and reinforced by the cooperation of organized labor and enlightened management, have achieved considerable status in the long-standing effort to control, reduce and, where possible, eliminate industrial accidents and work-induced illness.

Protection of the health and safety of the wage-earner is, in fact, the

longest-established of all the functions and services now carried on within the State Labor Department. The Division of Industrial Safety Service, originally created as the Factory Inspection Service under the Factory Inspection Act in 1886, antedates the Labor Department itself and is the oldest agency in the United States concerned with the health and safety of working people.

The Factory Inspection Service was first authorized to conduct the "inspection of factories, workshops and other establishments in the state." Its jurisdiction was gradually extended through the years to include health and safety hazards of all employees, and of the public, not only in factories but in such establishments as stores, restaurants, hotels, apartment houses, theaters, mines and tunnels, and in supervision of boilers and explosives.

The creation of the State Labor Department as a unified agency under a commissioner by law in 1901 was effected by consolidating the Office

of Factory Inspector with the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Board of Mediation and Arbitration.

In the fifty-six years that followed, the Department's industrial safety program has steadily grown, keeping pace with industrial expansion and the development and introduction of new materials and processes.

The responsibility for protecting on-the-job health and safety of the state's wage-earners originally undertaken by the old Office of Factory Inspector is now carried on by three operating divisions of the State Labor Department, the Divisions of Industrial Hygiene and Industrial Safety Service and the Board of Standards and Appeals.

In addition, intensive educational activity in promotion of safety and health-protecting practices on the job are carried on by two other agencies which lie administratively within the Department, the Workmen's Compensation Board and the State Insurance Fund. The general result of this large-scale approach has been devel-

opment of informational know-how which equals if not exceeds that of any other agency in the world.

New York State's industrial safety program begins with the industrial codes which are promulgated by the Board of Standards and Appeals. These codes, or code rules, are formulated after careful study and appraisal of each specific situation in terms of maximum safety for the workers involved.

There are approximately forty such code rules in existence. They spell out safety requirements for factories, stores and various places of public assembly such as theaters and auditoriums. They also cover the many aspects of factories and other plants such as ventilation, machine guards, exits and sanitary facilities.

These code rules, which have the force and effect of law, are constantly reviewed and revised to meet technological developments. New ones are added also, as circumstances demand. An illustration of this was the promulgation more than a year ago of a new code rule relating to protection of workers from hazards of radioactivity involved in the increasing industrial use of atomic power and radiant energy.

The enforcement of these codes, a major phase of the overall safety program, is the responsibility of the field staff of the Division of Industrial Safety Service. These staff representatives, comprising the world's largest safety inspection force, average hundreds of thousands of visits each year, assuring regular coverage of every industrial establishment in the state in the detection and correction of safety requirement violations.

**I**N THE Division of Industrial Hygiene the program of safeguarding the worker on the job is augmented by the efforts of highly trained professional scientific and technical personnel who compile and make freely available to both labor and management information which can facilitate health protection and accident prevention.

This Division's work in ventilation, the control and elimination of harmful dusts, gases and fumes, industrial noise and toxic substances in industry has established it among the leaders in the field.

With the accent in its operations on the preventive, the services of the



Inspector checks a moving cable.

Division of Industrial Hygiene more frequently assume a consultative rather than a policing aspect. For instance, plans for construction or alteration of factory or mercantile buildings are required, by law, to be submitted to the Division for approval.

This checking to see that the plans conform to safety requirements results in a large measure of built-in safety incorporated into new structures, a vital aid in preventing industrial accidents. In addition, teams of the Division's experts, upon request, make air-sampling tests, chemical analyses or on-the-scene surveys of establishments to facilitate detection and elimination of work hazards.

The Department's Division of Research and Statistics contributes materially to the safety program. Its exhaustive compilations of accident-frequency and severity-rate information from establishments throughout the state offer valuable indications as to the areas of greatest need in terms of safety program attention.

All elements of this extensive program are continuing operations, and out of the coordination of these efforts there stem regularly new or improved programs, geared to the ever-coming advances in industry. One of the most notable such developments has been the initiation of the new consultative approach in the inspection service of the Division of Industrial Safety Service.

This consultative program was conceived less than two years ago after a series of special studies had indicated that, although our enforcement activities had attained record levels, too many industrial accidents were still occurring throughout New York which could not be blamed on violations of state laws on safety.

This situation constitutes the major target of the consultative approach. There is no substitute for our code rules and for enforcement, but the need to look beyond them is clear. Although it represents some shift away from inspection and enforcement, the consultative approach program is a broadening, rather than a change, of our safety activities and procedures.

Under this program our field representatives, as assigned, act as safety consultants rather than merely as law enforcers. In preparation for this, every available member of the field staff was given a special course of training at New York University or Cornell University prior to assignment. Also, pending determination of the effectiveness of the new program, its operation has been limited from the outset to selected industries with the highest accident-frequency or disabling-injury records.

Procedures in the field are quite simple. The Department's representative visits a particular establishment and, with the cooperation of management, makes a thorough survey of the plant to identify and locate all hazards, not merely those in violation of our safety codes. The plant's safety program, if one exists, is appraised and analyzed. A full report, with recommendations, is then prepared and transmitted to the management.

**T**HESE recommendations relate not only to situations specifically covered by the labor law or code rules but also to safety training of employees, suggested safer work procedures and the elimination of any other conditions that might be the cause of accidents in the future.

After submission of the report, the Department of Labor representative follows closely the accident experience of the establishment and, wherever desired, will work with the plant management in implementing all of our recommendations.

This program was given considerable impetus last fall when almost 1,000 top-ranking representatives of labor, industry, the professional safety and insurance fields and community leadership gathered in Albany for Governor Averell Harriman's Worker Safety Conference.

The State Labor Department, as the agency carrying principal responsibility in this area of the administra-

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tion's activities, spearheaded the two-day meeting at which experts from each of the fields of participation joined in discussions. Consensus of the conference was that the consultative approach, as a sound forward step, merited the complete cooperation of all concerned.

Worthy of note also is the recent action of the Board of Standards and Appeals which announced in April of this year amendment of Industrial Code Rule No. 23, relating to protection of workers in construction.

These amendments, adopted after careful study, extend the protective regulations of the code rule to areas of the industry and to working conditions which did not exist in present form when the rule was last reviewed.

The upsurge of activity in heavy construction in New York State, with the constant promise of steadily advancing techniques and improved machines and devices, was recognized, too, in the appointment earlier this year of an advisory committee of experts drawn from labor, industry and the technical professions to conduct a thorough review of this code rule and revise it completely.

Safety in the construction industry is also the focal subject of another special conference this year. As I write, leaders of organized labor and management in the industry are gathering in Albany at a conference with government officials to initiate an intensive campaign to implement the consultative approach in safety, particularly in heavy construction.

The rapidly increasing use of atomic power in industry in recent years has given rise to widened activity in the

safety field. In New York State the protection of workers from the effects of ionizing radiation immediately assumed top-level importance. A major step in this direction was the promulgation, effective in mid-December of 1955, of Industrial Code Rule No. 38, relating to radiation protection.

Code Rule 38 was the first comprehensive safety code in its field and the first state regulation on radiation hazards to conform with standards of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission. The code rule was the result of several years of intensive study by a sizable committee of experts.

Often described as a "performance code," the regulation goes beyond the normal setting of certain standards. It provides for continuing action wherever radiant energy is involved to assure maximum safeguarding of the health and welfare of all employees.

Under one of the main provisions of the rule, over 400 installations throughout New York State have been registered with the Department as places where one or more sources of radiation are used, operated or stored. The protective regulations of the rule cover more than 150,000 workers.

Along with the enactment of the industrial code rule, the Division of Industrial Hygiene of the Labor Department joined forces with Canisius College of Buffalo in sponsoring, at the beginning of 1956, a Radiological Safety Conference for the purpose of instructing management and labor in the most up-to-date and effective methods of protecting workers from radiation.

Members of the Division staff who bear major responsibility for enforce-

ment of Industrial Code Rule 38, along with scientific and technical experts from the college's faculty, served as lecturers and instructors during the three-day sessions.

A second Radiological Safety Conference, under the same joint sponsorship of Canisius College and the Division of Industrial Hygiene, will take place on June 12, 13 and 14 at the Buffalo institution.

The program this time will be enhanced by more than a year's experience with Code Rule 38 and the considerable additional material and knowledge acquired during the same time in this swift-paced phase of modern industrial activity.

Active participation of organized labor is expected in this month's meeting, just as it has played a large role in all other similar activities of the Labor Department.

Continued development of a vigorous program of protection against radiation hazards currently constitutes one of the major phases of the Department's activities. The steady and rather rapid expansion of the industrial use of atomic power in recent years has made this imperative.

Under consideration by New York's Labor Department now are tentative plans for expanding this operation still more through a program of intensive study in cooperation with leaders in the fields of science, industry and labor. Such activity will assure that the Labor Department keeps fully abreast of developments and is able to provide or stimulate maximum protection of workers in the fast-growing and vitally important field of radiation in industry.

## IMPORTANT POINTS TO REMEMBER WHENEVER YOU SPEND MONEY

★ *Patronize Stores That Have Been Unionized* ★  
★ *Buy Products That Carry Union Labels* ★

ASK TO SEE UNION LABELS, CARDS AND BUTTONS

# Here's the Story of the Insurance Workers of America

By WILLIAM A. GILLEN  
*President, Insurance Workers of America*

WE CONTINUALLY find people surprised when they learn that there is union organization among insurance workers. Sometimes when I reflect on our small union's turbulent history, I am surprised that there is any organization left. As a matter of fact, there is substantial organization among one of the classifications within the insurance industry—the industrial insurance agents. Unfortunately, only a handful among the hundreds of thousands of insurance clerks, claim adjusters and underwriters belong to a union.

Trying to determine where the earliest union efforts originated among insurance men is usually a good way to start an argument. Apparently, there were rumblings in many places about the same time. The first significant moves were among the agents of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in the New York City area in 1937.

Twenty years ago there was little talk of organizing white-collar people, and the Metropolitan agents may have seemed out of place among the millions of new union members in the nation's factories. However, there were few workers on the American scene at that time who needed the benefits of unionism more than the insurance agent.

Financially, the "debit" agent, like the teacher and the civil servant, fared comparatively better than most workers during the great depression. While the agent's wages were greatly reduced, there were no layoffs and there was always some income.

The seeming advantage in reality gave rise to a terrible disadvantage. It is probable that no group of people was subjected to greater indignities or more severe pressures in trying to retain these "good jobs." One insurance company actually maintained

its own sanatorium for nervous breakdown cases.

It was not so strange then that these people sought to emulate the workers in auto plants, steel mills, rubber factories who were banding together across the nation. Little groups of agents began to meet in cellars and coffee shops to talk about a union, and many a head rolled as a result.

In our industry a company can always find an excuse for "terminating" an agent. With the handling of funds, screening of applicants, witnessing of so many signatures and dealing with the public, it is a rare agent who does not build up a dossier. At that time there was no organization to stop the use of such files as an excuse for firing men.

Most of the agents who became interested in organizing were channeled into the United Office and Professional Workers of America of the CIO. The UOPWA made pretty good progress, and eventually it included about 40,000 insurance workers—90 per cent of them agents—in its ranks. The association of the UOPWA and the insurance workers is one which leaves its mark to this day. The UOPWA was a left-wing union, and in 1950 it was among the unions which were expelled by the CIO as Communist-dominated.

The insurance agents, on their part, were influential out of all proportion to their numbers. Each agent entered hundreds of homes every week, and his advice and counsel were usually sought and highly regarded. This was reason enough for the fellow-traveling UOPWA leadership to direct unlimited resources and energies into organizing these prospective disciples.

For the insurance agents this extra attention from the UOPWA had a catch in it. The catch usually came



WILLIAM A. GILLEN

at conventions or other policy-making conclaves when key party-liners, representing thousands who did not bother to participate, outvoted the aggravated insurance representatives.

The insurance agent's job requires him to be an extreme extrovert, talkative and positive. When he found himself "boxed in," he did not like it. He made some mental reservations never to have it happen again.

The fact that the UOPWA was doing the job of organizing insurance workers was indisputable. The insurance worker, puzzled by and opposed to so many extraneous issues, conceded this and persisted in trying to change the leadership.

The war crystallized the interest of all concerned, and from then on it was only a matter of time until a revolt came. When the leadership in the union became obsessed with the second front to the exclusion of bargaining agreements, there was no longer any real doubt.

I can recall how I vigorously defended the UOPWA when faced by a raid from another union with speeches about "it's our union; right or wrong,

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"we'll stick together." A short time later I was making speeches for the CIO Insurance Organizing Committee against the UOPWA.

The convulsions through which the UOPWA passed on its way out of existence created cleavages and suspicions which were a long time disappearing. They probably would have been allayed more quickly except that every insurance company has continued to resurrect the old "red herring" whenever we seek to organize their employes. The truth, of course, is that those who overthrew the Communists are among the present active leaders of the Insurance Workers of America at both the local and international level.

When the agents went to the Congress of Industrial Organizations seeking a union free of the UOPWA domination, they found a champion in the late Allan Haywood. This veteran union leader became the first chairman of the Insurance and Allied Workers Organizing Committee in April of 1950. Haywood to this day remains a sort of beloved patron saint of our organization.

Harold Ash served as the secretary-treasurer until he resigned because of ill health in February of 1952. Richard T. Leonard then filled the post and became chairman when Haywood's duties elsewhere required him to relinquish the chairmanship. Leonard served as chairman until our union's founding convention at Cleveland in 1953.

The new union started off with a handful of members. Its future could not have looked more bleak as it began the difficult job of reorganizing the scattered insurance workers. The breakthrough came when the IAWOC won nationwide bargaining rights for 6,000 John Hancock agents.

Back in those days when achievement of labor unity seemed little more than a dream, the American Federation of Labor had chartered an insurance union of its own, the Insurance Agents International Union. This union, struggling to organize insurance agents, faced the same kinds of problems as the Insurance Workers of America.

At the time of the disintegration of the UOPWA, 9,000 organized agents of the Prudential Life Insurance Company left the CIO and joined the AFL Insurance Agents International Union. The result was two little unions of

roughly equal size engaged in bitter and fruitless warfare in an industry where it could least be afforded.

The two organizations, saddled with insufficient memberships spread all over the country, scrambled continually for the same workers, usually ex-UOPWA remnants. We continually threatened raids and intervened in each other's campaigns, sometimes tossing the victory to the employer as workers decided to vote for "no union." The unfortunate reality is that the Insurance Workers of America and the Insurance Agents International Union together have not reached the organizational level which was reached in the industry in the Forties.

The utter futility of strife between our two organizations became increasingly apparent, and when the No-Raiding Agreement was proposed a number of months before the merger of the AFL and the CIO, both unions readily signed it. Shortly after this, in 1955, exploratory merger talks were begun between our two unions. Certain agreements were reached and a new era of non-interference began.

Merger talks broke off as each union headed into hectic conventions. When the dust had settled from these, new committees were named and merger negotiations began again in 1956. By now both unions are convinced that such a merger must take place—and the sooner the better.

One bar to merger remains—the method of voting at conventions. While this may seem unimportant to outsiders, it is of vital interest to the members of both unions. Each union has developed its own tradition. Over the years we have stressed per capita voting. The IAIU, on the other hand, has stressed the importance of local structure in its voting procedures, according to a minimum and a maximum vote regardless of local size.

Despite the remaining disagreement, there has already been a merger in spirit, and working relationships between our two unions are better than ever before. Now both unions scrupulously avoid each other's organizing ventures and, in fact, help each other. There is frequent consultation on contract negotiations where each union has some employees of the same company. Each union has given financial aid to the other's strikes. Joint legislative programs have been

sponsored. In general, probably no other two unions are cooperating more closely.

The Insurance Agents International Union recently held its biennial convention and we are about to hold ours in Buffalo. When merger discussions begin again, it is my hope that a final agreement will be worked out.

I have dwelt at length on the organizational frustration that we have experienced, but in spite of all of our problems, the Insurance Workers of America have continued to make real progress. We have contracts with eighteen insurance companies. All but one of these provide for union shops in the areas where we have bargaining rights. In some instances we have the clerical employees organized, in one case both clerks and agents, and in the remainder the agents alone.

Contract negotiations have been excellent in spite of our organizing difficulties. The old indignities have completely disappeared. The pressure for business has been greatly relieved—with more business being produced by relaxed employees. Terminations have become a rarity.

Pay scales for agents have been raised to the point where they now average \$6000 a year. We have been less successful financially for the clerks for the obvious reason that the almost totally unorganized status of such employees everywhere holds us back. Even here we have made substantial gains in each round of negotiations.

This story would not be complete without describing our unending struggle with the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. To a great degree this struggle in itself constitutes the history of our union.

When the Organizing Committee began picking up the pieces, we succeeded in bringing into our ranks the Metropolitan agents in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and New York City. Agents formerly organized in several other states were lost in the transition period and have never been regained, despite constant efforts which will be continued until a solid organization is built.

Metropolitan Life has not escaped unscathed. In 1954 it forced a re-certification election in Pennsylvania, but the union won and retained its tri-state unit.

"Mother Met" once took delight in

announcing pension improvements, expense allowance increases and the like to its employes outside the bargaining unit midway of contract periods and forcing the union into a "me too" position. It followed, of course, that the gains at negotiations were vastly reduced.

The last time that the Metropolitan pulled this stunt, in September of 1955, the Insurance Workers enlisted the aid of the CIO. The union's members, aided by workers from dozens of other unions, told the story to the public.

Simultaneously, in every major city from coast to coast, demonstrations were held in front of Metropolitan offices exposing, on behalf of the organized agents in the three Eastern states, the company's tactics.

We have had no more trouble with that particular problem. Generally, I would describe our position *vis-à-vis*

the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company as a stalemate. For a union of our size, a stalemate with the biggest financial institution in the country is not bad.

The Insurance Workers still have a long way to go. Our numbers are still comparatively few. Our difficulties have taught our membership the meaning of union solidarity. Strikes are relatively rare among white collar workers, but our members have joined many a picket line of other unions and have contributed to strikes whenever asked.

Our own strikes have been prolonged struggles. The last one went on for 119 days against the Home Life Insurance Company of America before victory was accomplished. We got welcome aid from the AFL-CIO and from other unions, but essentially our own white collar people manned the picket lines and sus-

tained the strikers until the company gave in.

Probably our proudest moment came in 1956 when we needed financial help to sustain a round of negotiations. Our general executive board recommended a temporary dues increase, and we submitted the proposal to a referendum of our membership. Over 60 per cent of the members cast ballots and an overwhelming 88 per cent of those balloting voted to increase their dues to meet the union's needs.

All in all, the job is being done. The insurance industry is going to be organized. We cannot by ourselves overcome the present obstacles, but the current emphasis of the entire AFL-CIO on organization of white collar workers will eventually create the atmosphere and the interest that are needed for the achievement of organization of all insurance workers.

## Need More Community Activity, Reedy Tells Parley

MORE must be done by organized labor at the community level, the second annual AFL-CIO community services conference was told last month by Wesley Reedy, assistant to AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler. The conference was held at Atlantic City.

Mr. Reedy, urging labor's community services representatives to step up their activities, said that few communities in the nation have kept abreast of "the highway age and the suburban age." He added that few communities have developed public health services to "a point of maximum utility to all citizens" and that not many community chests raise all the money needed "to provide A-1 standards for voluntary agencies."

The labor movement's community service work, Mr. Reedy declared, is directly related to the unions' bread-and-butter activities.

"We all know," he told the conference, "that winning better wages for workers is not the full answer if they must continue to live in the slums. It is not enough to win more leisure if that leisure cannot be fully enjoyed.

"Medical insurance for a worker's family is a wonderful improvement, but not wonderful enough if there aren't doctors or not enough hospital

facilities or, in fact, no hospital at all."

The assistant to Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler referred to the anti-union hysteria that has arisen in some quarters following revelations of corruption on the part of a few in the labor movement. The enemies of trade unionism, he said, are using the disclosures to return to the "propaganda wars with added zest and vigor."

"If these evil forces are successful," Mr. Reedy said, "labor will have received a major setback in America."

The best antidote, he suggested, is the day-to-day example of union members doing "praiseworthy, constructive work" in the community. He told the more than 150 full-time representatives of labor serving with various community welfare agencies in major cities that they and other unionists working in the community services field must consider themselves "front-line ambassadors from the labor movement to the public as a whole."

Labor's activities in the communities of the nation drew high praise from Kenneth Johnson, dean of

the New York School of Social Work at Columbia University.

"The highest compliment that can be paid you is that you are good neighbors," Dean Johnson asserted.

Ellsworth Smith, secretary-treasurer of the Cook County Industrial Union Council, called for an increase in labor's representation on the boards of social agencies. Without it, he said, "labor is just a convenience to them at fund-raising time."

Urging federation of health and welfare agencies in the nation, Ralph H. Blanchard, executive director of the United Community Funds and Councils of America, said experience has demonstrated "the profound truth that effective health and welfare programs must be tackled on the national level if they are to be solved at all."

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## We Aren't Building Enough Homes

(Continued from Page 5)

cent homes, elderly individuals and families, and large families.

These are groups which have been the least able to obtain adequate housing accommodations within their means in the private housing market.

Unfortunately, however, the assistance provided by the Sparkman bill is so limited that it is most unlikely that it would add appreciably to the supply of housing for the groups it is intended to benefit.

Both the Spence and the Sparkman bills are aimed in the right direction. Their weakness is that they do not really meet the key problems head on.

The AFL-CIO and other organizations supporting a comprehensive housing program have insisted that the housing crisis can be ended only by legislation which will come to grips with the two basic problems—the shortage of funds for housing and reduction of current sky-high housing charges to a level most families can afford to pay.

To do the needed job, housing legislation this year must accomplish two principal objectives:

1. Until private lenders make mortgage funds available at reasonable costs, the federal government must fill the breach.

2. The money made available by the government must be offered on such terms and utilized for such programs as will meet the most urgent housing needs. In other words, these funds should be used to make housing available to low- and middle-income families at costs they can afford.

At this time no one bill meets both of these objectives. As I have already indicated, the Administration's bill is hopelessly inadequate. The Spence and Sparkman bills, while aimed generally in the right direction, are not broad enough in scope to do the needed housing job. Nevertheless, the Spence bill, especially, would pump new money into the badly depleted housing market and therefore deserves our support in the House.

However, we must look to the Senate for vigorous housing action since

in recent years a powerful reactionary coalition in the House has persistently sought to block every effective housing proposal. At this writing two bills in particular, both introduced by Senator Joseph S. Clark



Skilled men are ready and eager to do their work, but the housing depression has made many jobless.

of Pennsylvania, offer the most hope for genuinely constructive housing legislation in this session of Congress.

One of these bills, S. 1694, tackles the problem of making good homes available to moderate-income families at costs within their incomes. These families are in a housing no-man's land. Their incomes are too large for them to be eligible for admission to low-rent public housing, for which only the lowest income families are eligible. But their incomes are too small to permit these families to purchase houses under financing arrangements currently available.

The government's own figures clearly reveal why most new housing is beyond the financial reach of middle-income families. According to the census in 1955, only the top third of urban families had incomes of \$6100 or more. Yet in that same year more than half of the new homes built under the FHA program were bought by families whose incomes were over \$6100. Moreover, many families which bought FHA houses found that they had to pay monthly charges greater than they could really afford.

These figures emphasize what organized labor has been saying for a long time. Decent housing is still

beyond the reach of many middle-income families. These are families in the \$3000 to \$6000 income bracket.

To obtain decent housing within their means, these families need and want no financial subsidy. The answer to their problem can be found in reduced financial charges. These charges can be reduced by lowering the interest rate and lengthening the period of the mortgage loan.

This is precisely the objective at which the Clark moderate income housing bill (S. 1694) is aimed. This bill would establish a national mortgage corporation to make long-term, low-interest loans for sales, cooperative and non-profit rental housing for moderate-income families. The interest rate would be about 3 1/2 per cent and would cover all expenses for overhead and administration of the program. It would therefore be a completely non-subsidized program.

The other Clark bill, S. 1737, would set up no new housing program. It would simply revive and expand to the originally contemplated level the low-rent public housing program for low-income families.

In 1949, Congress authorized construction of 810,000 low-rent public housing units to be built over a period of six years. Since then merciless Congressional slashes in the public housing program have held the actual number of units completed to only a fraction of the number originally authorized.

The Administration has done nothing to counter the unscrupulous attacks on the public housing program. Instead, it has done everything possible to hamstring even the drastically curtailed program which Congress has permitted. The result is that the public housing program has been prevented from achieving its fundamental purpose of meeting the basic human needs of hundreds of thousands of underprivileged families for decent living accommodations.

**REGISTERED  
TO VOTE?**

# Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►The Glass Bottle Blowers have won a package of approximately 28 cents an hour in a three-year contract with the Glass Container Manufacturers Institute, which represents some forty companies. President Lee W. Minton of the Glass Bottle Blowers led the union's 100-man negotiating team.

►Local 1010 of the Furniture Workers, Los Angeles, has won a total wage increase of 18 cents an hour at the Metalcraft Products Company. The union's gain was the result of a strike.

►Letter carriers should be grateful to Edward Webster of Norristown, Pa. This member of Local 3216 of the Steelworkers has invented a device which gives off harmless fumes for repelling dogs.

►The Retail Clerks, District Council 11, have won pay hikes of substantial proportions for employes of the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company stores at Philadelphia, Reading and Bethlehem, Pa.; Atlantic City, Camden and Trenton, N.J. and Wilmington, Del.

►A resolution adopted recently by the Los Angeles City Council praises the Fire Fighters "as a medium through which the efficiency, morale and general welfare of fire departments have been greatly supported."

►Directly Affiliated Local 18887, Philadelphia, has gained significant pay increases and enlarged benefits in a new contract with the Midvale Heppenstall Company. Local President Alex I. Dever described the accord as "one of the best agreements we have ever negotiated." Other advances in the contract with the steel company include an increase from \$1000 to \$2500 in life insurance coverage for employees and pensioners, vacation improvements, more hospital and medical benefits for employees and dependents, and full pay while on jury duty.

►The Texas Supreme Court has upheld the right of Dallas firemen to join the International Association of Fire Fighters. The court has ruled that a Dallas ordinance prohibiting union membership conflicts with state law.

►Higher wages have been won by the Brewery Workers at the Pabst Brewing Company's Peoria, Ill., plant. The increases will range as high as 21½ cents an hour over a two-year period.

►A two-year ban on layoffs and downgrading features a contract between Local 267 of the Transport Workers and the Red Arrow Lines of the Philadelphia Suburban Transportation Company.

►Thirty-three students representing seven Asian countries took the tenth course given at the ICFTU Trade Union College, Calcutta, India. V. S. Mathur, director of the college, spoke briefly at the ceremonies marking the beginning of the course.

►Higher wages and improved medical and hospitalization benefits have been won by the directly affiliated Beet Sugar Refinery Employees for the workers of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company in sugar factories located in South Dakota, Idaho and Utah.

►A package of 36½ cents an hour—including a vacation plan calling for four weeks after fifteen years' service—has been gained by Local 772, International Union of Electrical Workers, at the Cincinnati Tool Company.

►Joe Senn of Detroit a leukemia victim, has been kept alive for three years by the injection of 350 pints of blood from the "bank" of his union, Dairy Workers, Local 83, Highland Park, Mich.

►Local 320, Plasterers and Cement Masons, has won a 25-cent hourly wage boost at Bartlesville, Okla. The scale is now \$3 an hour.

►Local 148, Teamsters, has signed up service stations at Wenatchee, Wash.

Top honors for the second year have been won by the girls' bowling team of the Saginaw Federation of Labor.



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The National Optical Workers Conference has elected Daniel Webb as president. He is business agent of Directly Affiliated Local 24659, Rochester, N. Y. The secretary-treasurer of the national group is Don Groh of Directly Affiliated Local 18579 in the same city.

Local 280 of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union has recently gained pay boosts aggregating 22 cents an hour at John Dieckmann and Sons, Elm Grove, W. Va.

►Members of Local 398, Butcher Workmen, have won a wage increase in a new agreement negotiated with the Standard Store, Clinton, Ind.

►Local 584, Plasterers and Cement Masons, has elevated its hourly rate at Havre, Mont. The new scale is \$3 an hour.

►Local 1607 of the Retail Clerks and George Neal, Ltd., St. John's, Newfoundland, have renewed their agreement. A pay increase is provided.

►Wage and fringe benefits worth 20 cents an hour have been obtained recently by the Transport Workers Union at the Akron Transportation Company in Akron, Ohio.

►Higher pay was won by Local 23, Office Employees, after a strike at the Tacoma, Wash., plant of the American Smelting and Refining Company.

►Local 854 of the Plasterers, Alamogordo, N.M., has gained an increase in the wage scale of 25 cents an hour.

## State Labor Unity Makes Sense

*(Continued from Page 7)*

everywhere in the state. The recent balloting gave us a friendly Governor and elected many of the candidates we backed to the Legislature.

For the first time we compiled the voting records of members of the General Assembly. While these records were not used as widely as we believe will be needed in the future, we supplied each local union on a limited basis, and in some cases each local union member was mailed a copy by his organization. It is our intention to follow the same procedure—but on a broader basis—following the close of the 1957 legislative session.

In the primary election last August in Ralls County, where very few union people live, the candidate who had twice introduced the so-called "right to work" proposal was defeated. He was replaced by a very capable man who has a sympathetic feeling toward workers as well as toward the farmers who are predominant in his county.

When the Legislature convened in January, there seemed to be a very friendly atmosphere prevailing in both houses. However, we could not know then that, when the March 15 deadline for the introduction of bills arrived, we would find not a single bad bill had been placed in the hopper at Jefferson City.

In the meantime, the Legislature had under consideration many bills of benefit to the wage-earners of Missouri. It passed, and the Governor signed, an unemployment compensation bill increasing the weekly benefit ceiling from \$25 to \$33 per week and extending benefit weeks.

Favorable legislation being considered would improve workmen's compensation, establish the prevailing wage for state construction, repeal the King-Thompson Act, strengthen child labor laws and abate stream pollution.

Our Governor has indicated an attitude of fairness toward the needs of workers and toward the labor movement. Recently the director of penal institutions issued an order that all employees in corrective institutions must withdraw their membership in the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes or lose their positions.

Labor felt that unless the director's order was withdrawn, the organization of workers in state employment or in any of the political subdivisions throughout the state would be outlawed because of the precedent set at the state level. Governor James T. Blair, Jr., was made aware of the nature and the objectives of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes, and he ordered the withdrawal of the mandate issued by the director of penal institutions.

The officers of the united Missouri State Labor Council have been kept busy this past year carrying on an activities program and at the same time "tooling up" for greater service to our local unions and their members.

The cooperation given us by the unions in Missouri has been wonderful. The international unions have offered us every assistance so that our contacts with their locals in the state would be made easier. We have taken the lead in inviting all the local unions in Missouri to affiliate and have

had complete support from the international unions in this effort.

At the close of the last convention of the State Federation of Labor, upon the adoption of the merger agreement by the delegates, a Teamster leader who had led the opposition to the merger said:

"The delegates to this convention having cast their votes and we having lost, I just wanted to say that the Teamsters will be a part of the united labor movement, and we will be doing everything in our power to make certain that it is a success."

This statement not only set the stage for the Teamsters but has reflected the attitude of all the unions within the state.

Our ladies' auxiliaries and the women relatives of union members have given us great help in the cementing of friendly ties between the workers of the industrial centers and the people who live in the rural areas. Through the exchange of views we have come to understand one another's problems better and to find common ground for the solution of these problems.

One year after the merger of Missouri labor we have fifty-seven more local unions and 19,000 more members than on the eve of unity.

The Missouri State Labor Council is carrying on in the tradition of its predecessor organizations. A year of experience has clearly demonstrated that a united labor movement is much more effective in serving the needs of working people than two separate organizations.

Merger means results — good results for those who toil. For more than a year, labor unity has worked very well in Missouri, and it should work very well in any other state.

# WHAT THEY SAY

**President Eisenhower**—Our defense expenditures are to assure us the



opportunity to wage peace. Our expenditures for diplomatic work, economic and technical assistance and information services give us the means to wage peace.

Together they cost over \$45 billion—all but about a billion dollars for defense forces.

The rising costs of defense items account for more than 80 per cent of the increase in next year's budget. These facts simply reflect the kind of world in which we are living.

The plain truth is that the price of peace is high. That explains why taxes are high and why their further reduction has been delayed. It explains also why really big cuts in government spending depend on success in our efforts to wage peace.

The sacrifices demanded of each of us are great. But they are sacrifices of dollars for a peaceful world, not the sacrifice of our sons, our families, our homes and our cities to our own shortsightedness.

**Boris Shishkin**, director, Department of Civil Rights, AFL-CIO—The



free world is what we in America are committed not only to defend but also to promote, to advance. The free world must be looked upon as a living, growing, dynamic concept. It is bound together by a deep sense of mutual responsibility, of genuine brotherhood among all men who choose to be independent and who choose to be free.

Any community of people is a place to live and to work. It is a home and also a workshop. The two are intimately interrelated. Not only natural resources but also skills and technology available to the workshop of the community will determine the

community's economic capacity to produce and ultimately its capacity to consume. And these will determine the way of life and the standard of living available to the community.

The free democratic world is strong as long as it is united. It derives its strength from unity among all men who aspire to freedom. But it can be weakened and even destroyed unless it assumes the initiative and the positive leadership in a practical program of bringing both freedom and the opportunity for advancement and prosperity to all.

**Omer Becu**, general secretary, International Transport Workers Federation



—As the trade union movement gains greater influence in national affairs, certain obligations toward other groups may have to be assumed. It is, however, open to serious question whether they should be allowed to inhibit the freedom of trade union organizations to come to the aid of their fellow-workers in other countries when the need arises.

The trade union movement should be wary of surrendering any of its independence in the management of its own affairs. The tradition of international solidarity, in particular, is not one which should be lightly discarded, if only for the selfish reason that all of us need the help of others at some time or other.

Most of us appreciate the need for trade union discipline at the national level, but we do not always appreciate that it is equally important at the international level if our movement is to function effectively in both spheres.

Just as the national center should be able to expect cooperation from its constituent unions, so should the international trade union movement be able to expect the same from its affiliates when the need arises. Only in that way can the possibility of real international action be safeguarded.

**Felix C. Jones**, president, Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union



During the past ten years organized labor has been directing the greater part of its political activities toward trying to prevent repressive anti-labor legislation. The enactment by states of so-called "right to work" laws is proof that our defensive efforts have been insufficient. Union members cannot afford the luxury of political aloofness. Too much of their welfare is at stake.

The members of unions need to concern themselves more with matters of political consequence to our movement. The best way to do that is right in the local union. We have to build our political education and political action effort the same way we built our unions—by working together, with each member doing his part.

The COPE dollar drive is underway. It is the voluntary donations that keep COPE going. They make it possible for COPE to serve as organized labor's defense against the reactionary challenge. It takes money for COPE to do an effective job.

**Estes Kefauver**, Senator from Tennessee



—It is my desire to see the restrictive sections of the Taft-Hartley Law removed. It is my desire to see a wider use of the Davis-Bacon Act. I believe that a strong and vital labor movement is necessary in order to retain the balance in our economy under which we can all thrive. Let us clean the few racketeers out so that the many can get on with the job of building such a movement.

Sporadic cases of labor racketeering and corruption have been of growing concern to the public for some years. The dramatic exposures of crime and corruption now being unfolded by the McClellan Committee are further arousing public opinion to demand reform. This demand is legitimate and must be met.